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Irvine

The Family of Jesus: A Sociological Analysis

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

FRAYDA D. HOFFNUNG

Committee in charge:

Professor Richard I. Frank, Chairman
Professor Peter Colaclides
Professor Patricia A. O'Brien

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The dissertation of Frayda D. Hoffnung is approved,

and is acceptable in quality and form for

publication on microfilm:

Richard I. Frank

Committee Chairman

University of California, Irvine

1980

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, Warren, who is my friend and companion and who has persisted through all my misadventures, who has loved away all the pain and shattered illusions, and has been greatly responsible for this, the realization of my dreams.

It is also dedicated to the two other men in my home, Greg and Derek who because their mother was a Graduate student had to learn to cook, to clean house and take care of themselves at an early age. Their help and love in times of crisis kept all of us above water. My love, respect and admiration for them can never truly be expressed.

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VITA

May 15, 1938	Born - Hollywood, California
1974	B.A. Magna Cum Laude, University of California, Irvine
1976	M.A., University of California, Irvine
1975-1976	Teaching Assistant, Department of History, University of California, Irvine
1976-1979	Teaching Associate, School of Humanities, University of California, Irvine
1977	Assistant Professor, Department of Religious Studies, California State University, Long Beach
1977	Danforth Fellow
1979-1980	Leon Goodman, Regents Fellowship, University of California

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: History

Ancient History
Professors Richard I. Frank and Brendan Nagle

Biblical Studies
Professor Robert Eisenmann

History and Social Theory
Professors Jonathan M. Wiener and Patricia A. O'Brien

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Family of Jesus: A Sociological Analysis

by

Frayda D. Hoffnung

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Professor Richard I. Frank, Chairman

Despite the thousands of books that have been written about the 'historical' Jesus, scholars have discovered very little about his family and its social status. All the accumulated information can be set down in two or three very brief sketches. These sketches use two pieces of evidence from the New Testament (NT) as the basis of the currently prevalent view that Jesus was the son of a poor Galilean carpenter and his equally impoverished wife: (1) that Jesus is called 'the son of the carpenter' (in some manuscripts he is called 'the carpenter'); and (2) that his mother, Maria, offered a poor person's sacrifice when she went for her purification in the Temple. This study will demonstrate that neither of these pieces of information prove that Jesus came from a poor artisan family. Both items are closely examined and data are offered which clearly demonstrates that Jesus came from the priestly family of Abijah/Phabi and as its Chief Priest (ἐpistátēs) performed certain rites at Yom Kippur, Sukkah and Passover.

The priestly family of Abijah/Phabi was Hellenized, but during the First Century AD its members adopted Roman names, dress and hair styles.

This study also demonstrates that as a member of this priestly family Jesus was born with the possibility of having two different fathers. This was due to the fact that Maria's first betrothed died before the final marriage ceremony and when she became betrothed to Joseph three months later it was uncertain as to who was the father of her unborn son.

Material from Philo is reviewed and is used to demonstrate that Jesus was called 'the Logos' and 'Son of God' because he was the Chief Priest of his division. Also, events from Jesus' life such as the Temple tax episode, the washing of the disciples feet and the two feedings of large groups are used to test the theory that Jesus was a priest. Lastly, material from the NT is set against the holidays of Sukkah and Passover. These holy days and the concomitant duties of the priests allow the chronological ordering of many of Jesus' actions.

Raymond Brown the noted NT scholar concludes that researchers can be much more certain about the theology of the NT than they ever can about its history. He uses as an example the census story in Luke. He states that one can not presume that this event is authentic due to some presupposed belief in Luke's historicity, but that the evidence in Roman and Jewish history must be examined for supportive evidence. It is agreed here that any scholar who attempts to deal with the events of Jesus' life must use the historical data provided by the writers of the First Century AD. In addition to reading such diverse works as the Mishnah, Tosefta, Philo, Pliny the Elder, the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and Josephus the historian,this endeavor requires knowledge of the techniques of onomastics, prosopography, philology and the research

tools of a social historian.

This study demonstrates that Jesus was a Shammaite Pharisee from the priestly family of Abijah/Phabi, and as the Chief Priest of that family he performed certain rites in the Temple in Jerusalem. This brought Jesus into conflict with the priestly family of Annas, and he was arrested by them for reaping the Omer and offering the holy incense in opposition to the traditions of both the Hillelite Pharisees and the Sadducean priests.

Chapter 1

EXAMINING JESUS' SOCIOLOGICAL ORIGINS: THE PROBLEM PAST AND PRESENT

The modern critical investigation of the historical Jesus began in 1835 with David Friedrich Strauss' publication of his The Life of Jesus Critically Examined.[1] Strauss denied the historicity of all the miracles and the resurrection, but used the concept of myth to preserve Jesus' proclamations. However, Strauss' use of source criticism became an honored component of later research.

Ferdinand Christian Baur used Nineteenth Century methods of historical criticism to put the New Testament (NT) sources into chronological order. On that basis he wrote a history of the early Church which he described in Hegelian terms: thesis (Judaeo-Christianity, Peter, Matthew), antithesis (Paul and his letters), and synthesis (Early Christianity).[2]

Albert Schweitzer's The Quest of the Historical Jesus (1906) saw Jesus as sacrificing his own life to usher in the Kingdom of God thereby saving his people from the tribulations which were to precede the coming of the Kingdon.[3] However, he believed that the historical Jesus was unrecoverable.

Rudolf Bultmann, who began a new period of research based on the method of 'Form Criticism' (1926), united historical skepticism with philological analysis.[4] He distinguished between 'authentic traditions' and 'community formations', but never attempted to integrate his findings in an historical reconstruction.

As can be seen, these quests for the historical Jesus did not use historical methods for their research in that most attempts have begun with an historical understanding of the early Christian Church while primarily ignoring the first century Judaean context. There are exceptions such as Joachim Jeremias, who downgrades Kerygma as the Church's response to Jesus' words in an attempt to get at the historical background of specific words and events. For example, Jeremias feels that Jesus' employment of the Hebrew word Abba reflects Jesus' own idea of himself as God's son.[5] Though Jeremias uses first century data and some historical-critical methods his conclusions are basically theological.

What Vincent Taylor, who sees Jesus as the fulfillment of God's plan for salvation as laid out in the Old Testament, says in The Interpreter's Bible is typical of what NT scholars have to say about Jesus' social origins:

> There he gained that familiarity with nature, with birds and trees and flowers, which afterwards enriched his sayings and parables. But the incomparable gift of Nazareth was home life under the roof of Joseph and Mary. In that home, as the eldest member of a family, he came to know the meaning of comradship and responsibility, especially if, as seems probable, Joseph died at an early age. Serving as a carpenter, making plows and yokes, he knew what life meant in its joys, its strains, and its conflicts. Little time can have been left for study, although doubtless he was taught by his parents the history and traditions of his people, and at the school of the local synagogue he came to read and value the law and the prophets.[6]

All of the above comments by Taylor are based upon the two facts that Jesus' father was listed as 'the carpenter' and that Jesus was called the Nazarene. His description is humane and loving, but unhistorical.

Conzelmann, a well known and respected NT scholar, states:

> Reliable information about the family of Jesus is meager. We are told the name of his mother, Mary. We hear of brothers and sisters (Mark 6:1-3), cf. Matthew 13:55-56) and are told of Jesus' occupation (or his father's?; the readings diverge) tektōn, RSV "carpenter," Mark 6:3. During his lifetime his mother, brothers, and sisters did not belong among his followers (Mark 3:21,31). After his resurrection Jesus appeared to his brother James (I Cor. 15:7), who after that time played a prominent role in the Christian community (Gal. 2:9), as do other brothers (I Cor. 9:5). According to Acts 1:14 Mary also belonged to the community, but without being prominent in it. Paul does not mention her. Concerning the youth and inner development of Jesus we discover nothing (precisely here there stands at least one legend in this gap, that of the twelve year-old boy, Luke 2:41-52).[7]

Conzelmann's statement that we can discover nothing will be shown to be a negative exaggeration. For example, this study explains why Jesus did not have the five shekel redemption service (pidyon ha ben) and it also demonstrates that the Gospels use of téktōn refers to Jesus' position as one of the 'craftsmen' of the Temple. This study also explains what Jesus was doing in the Temple when he was twelve years old; it most certainly was not his Bar Mitzvah ceremony, as some scholars have proposed.

Despite the fact that there have been hundreds of books written about the 'historical' Jesus very little has been discovered about his family and its social status. All the accumulated information can be set down in two or three very brief sketches, based on the belief that Jesus was the son of a poor Galilean carpenter (in some manuscripts Jesus is called 'the carpenter') and his equally impoverished wife, and that his mother, Maria, offered a poor person's sacrifice when she went for her purification in the Temple. This study will demonstrate that neither of these pieces of information proves that Jesus came from a poor artisan family. Both items are closely examined and data are offered which clearly demonstrates that Jesus came from the priestly family of Abijah/Phabi and as its Chief Priest (ẻpistátēs) performed certain rites at Yom Kippur, Sukkah and Passover.

Though NT research on Jesus' family claims to use the methods of textual, literary, and redaction criticism it has been slowed by the perpetuation of inaccurate statements as facts. Even a work as well known as Who's Who in the New Testament perpetuates some of these untruths. For example, when it speaks of Salome, the daughter of Herodias, it says: "John [the Baptist] fearlessly condemned Antipas for taking Philip's wife, who was his own niece and consequently by law forbidden to be his wife".[8] This is simply not true. There was no law which forbade a niece to her uncle. In fact, as will be shown, priests and other members of the upper class were encouraged to marry their sister's daughters. However, they were to avoid marrying the daughters of their brothers because of the Levirate Law. For if they died childless after they were betrothed to their niece, the Law of Levirate went into effect. As can be seen the circumstance could arise where, if there were only two brothers, a man would be required to have intercourse with his own daughter. It is this type of mis-information which needs to be rooted out of NT studies. It may involve the elimination of some cherished ideas, but if the historical study of the NT is to advance it must be done.

Joseph Klausner too makes a basic mistake when he states that Nazareth "was cut off from the rest of the world, far removed from the great 'highway to the Sea' and the caravan routes".[9] Because of his reputation other scholars take this information as correct and repeat it without re-examining Klausner's sources. This causes the perpetuation of inaccurate material as fact. It is not accurate to say that Nazareth was far removed from the "rest of the world". Less than two miles away from that village was Sepphoris, one of the largest and most impressive towns in the Province of Judaea. Sepphoris was the capital of the tetrarchy and as such had large and impressive buildings and its market places were crowded with caravans from all over the Near East. Sepphoris and Nazareth and their importance to Jesus are explored in this study.

Scholars have accepted with very little question the idea that Jesus was from the lower classes because he was called 'the son of the carpenter', (or 'a carpenter' himself) and they have been led to make statements like: "Jesus came from the ranks of the simple classes, from among those who laboured with the sweat of their brow: he had experienced their troubles, their poverty and their labour".[10] Just because Jesus made comments which defended the lower classes and talked about their hard labor we can not automatically assume that he too was lower class. The Grachii were champions of the 'lower classes' but they were from the upper class themselves.

Despite the fact that most NT scholars are interested in explaining the theology behind a historical event some of the most valuable historical research on Jesus' family has come from scholars who are known for their commitment to their religious faith. For example, Raymond E. Brown, John Reumann, Karl P. Donfried and Joseph A. Fitzmyer in their remarkable joint effort, Mary in the New Testament, begin by noting:

> This method, while implying in itself no denial of divine inspiration, insists that in interpreting the Scriptures, scholars

> must apply to them the ordinary rules applicable to other bodies of literature.[11]

It is hoped that NT scholars will, with this in mind, read and test this study's theory about Jesus and his family.

The scholars referred to above go on to discuss the three stages of Gospel formation: Stage One - The historic deeds and sayings on which the Gospel narrative was based; Stage Two - Those events interpreted through faith and recorded as the selected deeds and sayings of Jesus; Stage Three - The four written Gospels where an individual selected and reworked these traditions to fit his own (and his communities') theological view of Jesus.[12] They see their task as that of examining the evidence so that they can get as close to the first stage as possible.

Despite this aim Brown and his colleagues insist that Biblical scholarship is able to do its best work at the Stage Three level. This is because they feel that the material severely limits the possibility of determining the historical events of Stage One (especially in the case of Maria). They conclude: "Thus an investigation such as ours is far more certain about theology than it can ever be about history".[13] They take as an example the census in Luke. They state that one can not presume that this event is authentic due to some presupposed belief in Luke's historicity, but that the evidence in Roman and Jewish history must be examined for supportive evidence. It is agreed here than any scholar who attempts to deal with the events of Stage One must use the historical data provided by the writers of the first century A.D. In addition to reading such diverse works at the Mishnah, Tosefta, Philo, Pliny the Elder, the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and Josephus this endeavor requires knowledge of the techniques of onomastics, prosopography, philology and the research tools of a social historian.

As noted, one of the research tools which social historians employ is onomastics, or the study of names. Naomi G. Cohen, in her superb article "Jewish Names as Cultural Indicators in Antiquity," states that Jewish names provide "an indication of the specific non-Jewish cultural milieu to which the namegiver wished to belong".[14] Her work clearly demonstrates the usefulness of this methodological approach as a means of uncovering sociological information in prosopographical material. This study makes use of her method in uncovering information about the family of Jesus. In addition, onomastics and the linguistic techniques it requires were used in most of the research material bearing on the family of Abijah/Phabi and Jesus' relationship within that family structure.

One of the most difficult problems in examining Jesus and his family is the theological barrier beyond which certain NT scholars are hesitant to look. When an historian attempts to discuss Jesus as an human being he naturally encounters the stumbling block put up by the dogma and faith of others and himself. This study attempts to bring to NT studies the same methodology which Herbert Butterfield urged upon his fellow historians:

> On this view [the historian] comes to his labours conscious of the fact that he is trying to understand the past for the sake of the past, and though it is true that he can never entirely abstract himself from his own age, it is none the less certain that this consciousness of his purpose is a very different one from that of the whig historian, who tells himself that he is studying the past for the sake of the present. Real historical understanding is not achieved by the subordination of the past to the present, but rather by our making the past our present and attempting to see life with the eyes of another century than our own. It is not reached by assuming that our own age is the absolute to which Luther and Calvin and their generation are only relative; it is

> only reached by fully accepting the fact that their generation was as valid as our generation, their issues as momentous as our issues and their day as full and as vital to them as our day is to us.[15]

A few NT scholars who have tried to explore the historicity of the Gospels have ended up by attacking an Evangelist for his inaccuracy. However, this study will show that many times the problem is not with the Evangelist but with the modern investigator. For example, when Brown examines Luke 2:22-40 he focuses on "when the time came for their purification" and concludes that "Luke had an inaccurate knowledge of details".[16] This study contends that the opposite is true and presents the historical information which supports Luke's statement. This should not be taken as an attack on Brown; The Birth of the Messiah is a magnificent and valuable work. Rather, this study employs the approach of a social historian who has also been trained in NT studies. Where Brown believes that "The historicity problem is somewhat relativized by the perception that the infancy narratives are primarily vehicles of the evangelist's theology and christology", another research path has been chosen for this study. My own approach has been to ask of each section "is there anything which is historical in this account?" By this I mean does it refer to any aspect of the socio-economic background of Judaea-Galilee during the first century A.D. A crucial aspect of that background is an understanding of the priestly class and the next Chapter is devoted to its history.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

[1] David Friedrich Strauss, The Life of Jesus Critically Examined (Philadelphia, 1972). Originally printed in 1835-36.

[2] Ferdinand Christian Baur, Palus, der Apostel Jesu Christi. Sein Leben and Wirken, seine Briefe and seine Lehre (Leipzig, 1866).

[3] Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus (New York, 1961). Originally printed in 1906.

[4] Rudolf Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition (New York, 1963). Originally printed in 1921.

[5] Joachim Jeremias, Heiligengräber in Jesu Umwelt (Gottingen, 1958); also his "The Prayers of Jesus," Studies in Biblical Theology 2/6 (1967), pp. 108-112.

[6] The Interpreter's Bible (New York, 1951) Vol. VII, s.v. "The Life and Ministry of Jesus" by Vincent Taylor, p. 115.

[7] Hans Conzelmann, Jesus (Philadelphia, 1975), p. 28.

[8] Ronald Brownrigg, Who's Who in the New Testament (New York, 1971), s.v. Salome, Daughter of Herodias, p. 393.

[9] Joseph Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth (New York, 1925), p. 231.

[10] Ibid., p. 233.

[11] Raymond E. Brown, et al., Mary in the New Testament (Philadelphia, 1978), p. 8 note 15.

[12] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[13] Ibid., p. 27.

[14] Naomi G. Cohen, "Jewish Names as Cultural Indicators in Antiquity," Journal for the Study of Judaism, Vol. VII, No. 2 (September, 1976), p. 97.

[15] Herbert Butterfield, The Whig Interpretation of History (New York, 1950), p. 12.

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[16] Raymond E. Brown, The Birth of the Messiah (Garden City, 1977), pp. 448-449.

[17] Ibid., p. 26.

Chapter 2

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE POST-EXILIC PRIESTHOOD OF JUDAEA

Since much of this study has to do with the priesthood a short sketch of its history will be presented here while highlighting the points which have relevance to this work. For the Jews the priests were their representatives and intermediaries in the services for Jehovah which were conducted in the Temple at Jerusalem. One became a priest by hereditary right and the priests constituted a distinct social class.[1] In Judaea the priesthood was restricted to males only and they were thought of as God's servants or slaves. This concept was rooted in the primary nature of the Temple, which was literally regarded as 'the house of God'. In his house the God-King was attended by his servants who fulfilled his demands as listed in the Torah (Old Testament). According to the Torah the right to the priesthood was the exclusive privilege of one family of the Levite tribe — the family of Aaron. Later on, David's High Priest, Zadok, assumed that right for himself and his descendants. A genealogy was created which showed that Zadok was a descendant of Aaron.

When Ezra returned from Babylon he made some decisive changes in the priesthood which then totalled several thousand men.[2] The ancient priestly concepts and customs, as listed in the Torah, were reinstituted and attempts were made to put them into practice in everyday life. The people were encouraged to fulfill their obligation to bring the priestly tithes, but they were slow to do so and as a result many of the priests were forced to find other means of support. Some became landholders in the Galilee and in the hill country of Judaea.

The conditions of cultic centralization, along with the increased numbers of priests and their decreased dependence on the priestly perquisites led to a regulation of the Temple service among all the priests and levites. This took the form of a system of divisions or courses. Every course would work one week by itself until the entire round was completed and was begun anew. There were twenty-four courses and this system was apparently established by the end of the First Temple period. Josephus tells us that the twenty-four divisions persisted down to his time.[3] The Talmud states that every priestly division was composed of several households (families) each of which had a fixed day or two of the week for their duty.[4] During the pilgrimage festivals of Sukkah, Passover and Shavuot all the divisions served together under the regularly assigned duty course.

In 167 B.C. the government passed into the hands of the Maccabees, or the Hasmoneans as their dynasty became known. The Hasmonean High Priest became the leader of Israel and after 102 B.C. its King. In the first century B.C. the Pharisees began to supplant the Sadducees (with whom they disagreed as to the method of interpreting the Torah) as the spiritual and political leaders. The Sadducees were from the upper echelon among the priests, and were also an important element in the Sanhedrin. Among the Dead Sea Scroll sect the priests retained leadership and an honorable status.[5] With the ascent of Herod to the kingship in 37 B.C. the political leadership of Judaea passed, for the first time in the post-exilic era, to a non-priestly element.

Herod 'the Great' exterminated all the well known men of the Hasmonean dynasty in order to gain political and economic control of Judaea. Because the Hasmoneans had also been the High Priests Herod was now able to appoint whomever he wished as High Priest from among the qualified priests. He took the Highpriesthood away from the Hasmonean family and chose to appoint High Priests from the descendants of Zadok. He also abolished the custom of the priest serving for life and changed High Priests whenever he felt that the political, religious or emotional circumstances warranted. The High Priest's status remained exalted and holy. After the death of Herod and the removal of Archelaus, the appointment of the High Priest was placed in the hands of the Roman governors. In the final generation before the destruction of the Temple, this authority was restored to the dynasty of Herod.[6] During the Herodian period the High Priests came from a small group of well-born priestly families such as Boethus, Annas, and Abijah/Phabi. According to the Talmud (which it must be remembered was written by Rabbis who were rather hostile to the priests) these High Priests often bought the office from the Romans or Herodians and because they were changed so frequently the office went to the highest bidder.[7]

Since under the Roman Procurators an ex-High Priest kept his additional rights which pertained to his status and dignity, there came into being a kind of oligarchy of High Priests and their families, many of whom were related to each other by ties of marriage. During the first century A.D. there were increasingly fierce struggles between two or three of the leading priestly families for the Highpriesthood and the attendant political and economic control of Judaea. Members of these primarily pro-Roman aristocratic and wealthy noble families were often autocratic and unscrupulous. However, there were individual High Priests, especially those of the family of Abijah/Phabi, who because of their piety and good deeds were mentioned with praise even by the Rabbis. Among those so lauded was Joshua ben Gamaliel I, who established that every town with more than ten families had to erect a school for their children.

There was a great contrast, ideological and material, between the upper class Highpriesthood and the mass of ordinary priests, most of whom did not live in Jerusalem but in the towns and villages of Judaea and Galilee. Some of them engaged in work as farmers and fisherman and in commerce. Though it seems that the majority of the priests were Sadducees, many were Shammaite Pharisees, some were Hillelite Pharisees and a few were Zealots. This factionalization of the priesthood is discussed in the next Chapter.

It is evident that the few families which formed the priestly aristocracy had a tremendous stake in the preservation of the status quo. As long as Judaea remained quiet the Roman Procurators left the management of the government to the High Priest, his Council and the Sanhedrin. This would, in turn, allow the High Priestly families to continue making large profits from their Temple related businesses. Thus membership in the priesthood and especially a relationship to one of the High Priestly families was the key to social, economic and political success in Judaea during NT times. This historical review supports the findings that priestly genealogies had a significant value for the priest, as well as his wife and children.

We can see that Jesus lived in a society where social groups were changing in response to the economic changes brought by the Roman Empire. The powerful forces of increased commerce and the large, fairly affluent Jewish population in the Diaspora produced tensions within the society of first century Judaea. The priestly aristocracy was under attack, and in order to survive intact it needed a new base from which to seek and maintain power. Therefore one group, the House of Annas, sided with the Romans while others united with the lower clergy, the surviving members of the House of the Hasmoneans and many of the common people in opposition.[9] This study will demonstrate that Jesus came from an upper class priestly family which had strong political ties to the lower classes and the Galilean tetrarchy.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

[1] Joachim Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus (Philadelphia, 1975), p. 96 Jeremias refers to the priests as members of the wealthy upper class.

[2] Jeremias, pp. 198-207.

[3] Josephus, Life:1.

[4] Tosefta Ta'anith II:1-2, 216.

[5] See Manual of Discipline and Rule of the Congregation.

[6] Agrippa I, Herod of Chalcis, Agrippa II.

[7] b. Yoma 18a; Yebamoth 61a.

[8] Jeremias, pp. 31-51.

[9] S. Safrai, The Jewish People in the First Century (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 606 cf. Josephus, War 2:1-100 on the various groups which united in opposition to Rome.

Chapter 3

JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE PRIESTLY DIVISION OF ABIJAH/PHABI

One of the most important sources of information about Jesus' family is Luke's infancy narrative. In his preface, addressed to Theophilus, Luke states that he is going to fill in the places where Theophilus' information is incomplete. Luke also tells him that he is not going to just repeat what others have written. Thus Luke and Theophilus must have read, or heard about, one or more of the other Gospels. Luke does not say that they have told false stories, but that he, like the eye witnesses and attendants (servants), was accurately acquainted from the beginning with all 'things'. Luke also says that he is doing this so that Theophilus might be secure against 'stumbling'. In the first century A.D. a man was thought to 'stumble' if he transgressed the law and this stumbling might cost a man his soul or place in heaven.[1] Thus Luke is writing his Gospel so that Theophilus might not transgress the law by following the wrong teaching.

Luke's infancy narrative is thought to contain ancient materials because sections of it seem to be derived from Aramaic originals. This implies that Luke knew enough Aramaic to work with these sources. In addition, his Gospel continuously demonstrates that he, and/or his source, knew a great deal about the Jewish religion, the Temple, the priesthood, Judaea and the Galilee. Even if he only combined the

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materials of first hand witnesses and was not such a witness himself, Luke had to have had some first hand material in order to provide such an historically accurate framework. Therefore, somehow, Luke has obtained some hometown (Judaean-Galilean) information about Jesus' early years. Perhaps from his remarks that Maria (Mary) stored these things up in her heart, he means to tell us that his data comes from her or her family.[2]

Leaving aside the theological problems of Maria's relationship with Joseph we will concentrate on the sociological information presented in the infancy narratives. First, and most important, Luke tells us that Elishabet and Maria are kinfolk related by blood. The Greek word that he uses for Elishabet's relationship to Maria is *syggenḗs* which always means a blood relative.[3] This same word is used in the NT in the *Gospel of John*, *Acts*, *Romans* as well as in the *Gospel of Luke*, and each time it can be shown that it means kinfolk who are related by blood.[4] Luke himself uses *syggenēs* to differentiate between brothers (*a̓delphoús*); neighbors (*geítonas*); friends (*phílous*) and kinfolk.[5] Elsewhere he uses it to differentiate between parents (*gonéōn*); brothers (*a̓delphō̃n*); friends (*phílōn*) and kinfolk.[6] Thus it is clear that Luke means blood relatives when he uses *syggenēs*, and in this case, a blood relative can only mean an aunt, niece or cousin: Elishabet is Maria's aunt, niece or cousin. In addition, we are told that Elishabet is a daughter of Aaron, which means that she is the daughter of a priest.[7] This is a crucial piece of information in understanding Jesus' social origins since it means that Maria too is the daughter of a priest.

In the Near East, ancestry was regarded as something which was decided by the gods and had always counted more than economic, political or physical power. Since, in Israel, the offices of priest and Levite were hereditary and could not be obtained in any other way than by inheritance it was of the greatest importance that the purity of family lines remain unblemished. Because of this, genealogies were kept with great care and within the priesthood strict rules of marriage were established. If a priest could not prove his legitimate descent he lost his and his descendants' rights to the priestly offices, and to the accompanying revenues.[8]

However, during the rule of Herod and the Romans the office of High Priest was held by men who did not adhere to these rigid rules of marriage and divorce. Herod had replaced the Hasmonean Priest-Kings with various families descended from the High Priest Zadok. These men, like their predecessors, sometimes transgressed the prevailing marriage customs. For example, we know of at least two High Priestly families who had trouble because of the Levirate Law.[9] The Levirate states that if a man dies before he has any children to carry on his name his eldest brother must marry his widow and live with her until she bears a child. He could remain married to his own wife if he had one. The newborn child is then named for its dead father and is called his son or daughter even though his uncle is his biological parent. Problems occurred when a man married his brother's daughter and then died before he had any children. If there were only two brothers a man would then have to have intercourse with his own daughter. As a consequence ways were developed to allow either party to get out of the Levirate.[10] However, it became the custom among the priestly class to marry the daughter of your sister whom you knew met all the requirements for a legitimate marriage. By marrying your sister's daughter the obvious problem with a possible levirate ceremony was removed. A famous quotation is typical of the view of the priestly class "the marriage of a daughter of a priest to an Israelite (a commoner) is bound to result in a bad marriage".[11] There was one very important advantage to marriage within your own family; it meant that a family's land and property remained within that family.

According to the Law a High Priest, or even a possible future one, could not marry anyone except the virgin (12 to 12-1/2 years old) daughter of a priest. It was preferable that she was the daughter of another High Priest, or his own niece or cousin. In Second Temple times High Priests were allowed to marry the widow of another priest if the first couple did not have any children. This was because her purity had already been guaranteed for the first marriage. By marrying the daughter of your sister, or the virgin daughter of a fellow priest, there would be no doubt about the legitimacy of any offspring, or a son's right to the Highpriesthood.[12] Both Elishabet and Maria were married to men who were their father's brothers. This connection is explained in Chapter IV.

Luke tells us that Elishabet was a daughter of Aaron and was married to Zechariah, a priest of the division of Abijah, and that they lived in the hills close about Jerusalem and the Temple. By living so close to Jerusalem, Zechariah was thus able to participate in the daily affairs of the priesthood, as well as serve with his division for two weeks each year. He would be able to obtain the emoluments of the lesser holidays in addition to those of the major pilgrimage festivals for himself and his family. Wives and children of priests were allowed to eat from the tithes and share in the sacrifices. Widows of priests were given allowances.[13] With all these benefits, those priests who lived near the Temple were able to live comfortably. Thus we can see that John the Baptist's family was probably in comfortable financial circumstances and that John grew up with an intimate participation in the affairs of the Temple.

Elishabet is, certainly, the name of a priest's daughter. The first Elisha'bet that we hear of is in the Torah (Old Testament) where she is married to Moses' brother Aaron. Aaron, of course, like Moses was a member of the Levite clan. The name Elisha'bet means 'daughter of' (*bat*) Elisha. This was often the manner in which females were named. Elishabet, the wife of Zechariah, came from an illustrious priestly family and after examining the priestly division of Abijah, we will look at the house of Elisha.

Luke tells us that John the Baptist belonged to the priestly division of Abijah. One of the reasons that Luke goes to the trouble of telling us who John the Baptist was, and explaining his relationship to Jesus, is so that we might understand why Jesus took John's place as his successor. However, it will be helpful here to recall what was said, by Luke, about John the Baptist's father,

> And it came to be in fulfilling his priestly service before God (in the office of his daily course) according to the custom of the priestly service, having entered into the sanctuary of the Lord, it fell to him by lot [or *elachen* could mean that it was his appointed office, or special destiny] to burn the incense. And all the multitude of the people were praying outside at the hour of incense. (1:8-10)

Here Luke demonstrates the accuracy of his own knowledge, or his sources', about the Temple ritual. The description given by Luke fits the daily offering of the incense, exactly, and it covers many small points which only someone who was very familiar with Temple ritual would know. For example, the Jewish Encyclopedia states,

> The priest who had gathered the coals entered the sanctuary first, scattered them over the incense altar, prostrated himself, and departed. Then the priest who was chosen by lot to offer the incense entered, bearing the pan of incense in his hand. He was accompanied by a priest appointed for this task who instructed him in the proper ritual, and he did not offer it until he was told: "Offer the incense!". The officiating priest waited until the space between the hall and the altar was cleared of people, offered up the incense, prostrated himself, and departed. During the offering of the incense in the sanctuary, the people used to gather in the azarah [inner court] for prayer and even outside the Temple these times were set aside for prayer. After the departure of the priest who had offered the incense, all the priests filed into the sanctuary, prostrated themselves, and went out again.[14]

It can be seen that Luke knows the incense ritual very well. For example, he knows that the lot was taken after the priests had entered the priests' court, for he states that the lot was taken after "having entered into the sanctuary". He also tells us that all were praying outside at this hour. In addition, Luke states that Zechariah had a vision while he was offering the incense. In the pagan rites, incense was usually offered by more than one person. If Luke had not known the correct ritual, the chance of Zechariah being alone for the visitation would be such that the vision would have to take place somewhere else. This and other examples seem to establish that Luke, or at least his source, had a detailed understanding of Temple ritual. Luke also knows that there is a difference between the Temple and the sanctuary where the incense was offered. This can be seen by the fact that Luke uses two different Greek words for them: nā́ón (sanctuary) and hierón (temple). Luke also uses *e̔phēmérias* (daily course) when he refers to Zechariah's priestly course. This tells us that Luke knew that the weekly courses were divided into daily groups which split up the days of their course's duty week among the several households which formed their priestly course. These fine points of Temple procedure would only be known by someone who was intimately familiar with the Temple in Jerusalem. Certainly a pagan Greek who lived outside of Judaea-Galilee would not be familiar with these specifics.

The priestly division to which Zechariah belonged was called Abiah by Luke and Matthew; while in the Hebrew texts the name is Abijah.[15] The difference in spelling results from different ways of transliterating the yod (i, e) of Hebrew into a similar sound in Greek. That Abijah (Abiah) was identical with the priestly division known as Phabi is supported by linquistic evidence. Samuel, the prophet and priest of the OT, named his second son Abijah. Various editions of our OT manuscripts have this Abijah listed as Aphiah due to the transposition of '*Ab* and *Aph* which is a fairly common phenomenon in Hebrew.[16] This characteristic is traceable within the Semitic dialects themselves as has been demonstrated by Albright where he shows that '*Ibhri* is the same as '*Iphri* because the *b* in Hebrew is often written as a *p* in other Semitic languages. In Egyptian, as late as the third century A.D., a *b* in Hebrew was translated by *ph*. Also, in inscriptions from Beth Shearim it can be seen that the Hebrew *b* being exchanged for the Greek *pi* was a well known phonetical phenomenon.[17] Therefore, our evidence supports the view that Abijah/Abiah can be equated with Aphijah/Aphiah.

Secondly, in tracing the equivalence of Phabi (Phiabi) with Abiah

(Abijah) it is necessary to note that the theophoric elements of Jewish names can be interchanged, and were in fact interchanged by the people of first century Judaea and Galilee. For example, El could be changed into any of the following and not lose its meaning: Jah, Jo, Ja, Jeho, Yah, Ya, iah, ias, iel. El, Jah, Jo, Ja and Jeho usually appear at the beginning of a name, while jah, yah, ya, iah, ias and iel usually appear at the end. As a result of these interchanges the same man might be called Ish'ma-el, Eli-sha-ma, Eli, Shammai, or Elisha. Even though the elements of the name have been switched, its meaning remains basically the same.[18] Today, we have the same phenomena with the name Robert, which can be changed to Bob, Rob, Robby, Bobby and even Bert. In some cases the same young man might be known by all five names. Other examples of onomastic phenomena pertinent to this study are included in Appendix A.

In Egyptian Pt/Phth is the theophoric element substituted for Jah/Jo/el/iah.[19] Thus the family name was Abijah when they lived in Judaea, but when they went into exile with Onias and other members of the priestly tribe of Jedidiah their name became Phabi (Phiabi). At Tell el Yehudidyah (Jedidiah), also known as L'ontopolis, where about 165 B.C. the Oniads built a Temple on the model of the one in Jerusalem there are inscriptions which refer to the Phabi family. The transformation of Aphiah/Abiah to Phabi was accomplished by the interchange of theophoric elements when the family moved to Egypt and became subject to Egyptian cultural influences. Thus iah was changed to Ph(i) and since in Egyptian the theophoric elements were usually placed first in names, Abijah became Ph(i)abi. The meanings of both names remained the same: 'God is my father'. Ab i jah / Ab i ph(th) / Ph(i)abi in Egypt became Fabi under the Roman Empire when, as Syme has noted, upper class members of the provinces often modified their names to approximate Roman nomenclature.[20]

Grintz has established that "an analysis of the various lists of the watches [priestly divisions] shows that the families of the High-priesthood remained on the whole identical and that only the names or appellations of some of them changed in the course of time".[21] The variance of the names is accounted for by the various languages of the rulers of Judaea and Galilee: Aramaic, Greek, Egyptian and Latin. For example, the division of Jakim is also called Pashur-Jakim in various books of the OT.[22] Another example of how names varied according to the dominant language is that of the priestly clan of Theophilus. Up until now most scholars have thought of them as interlopers from the lower priesthood who were brought into power by Herod in his struggle with the Hasmoneans for the Kingship of Judaea.[23] They argue that Herod would not appoint a Hasmonean to the Highpriesthood because they were entitled to the throne of Judaea even more than he was. The Hasmoneans' priestly division, Joiarib, belonged to the tribe of Jedidiah, but had separated itself from their control when it won the Highpriesthood and the Kingship of Judaea in 142 B.C. The fact that only the sons of Simon Maccabeus could acquire the Highpriesthood angered and estranged the rest of the House of Jedidiah.

Theophilus is the Greek form of the Hebrew name Jedidiah. In a Hebrew context Jedidiah means 'beloved of Jah (the Lord)' or 'He whom Jah (the Lord) loves'. Phílos means 'beloved', although it can be taken to mean ancestor, or originator; and Theo means 'the Lord or God'. Thus we have the same name in the two languages. It is unlikely that two priestly clans would have the identical etimology for their family name. The changes are due to the change in the prevailing languages of the time. Another example of the language change in the names of the priestly clans can be seen in the division of Hezir, which means 'help', 'assist' or 'aid' in Hebrew. In Greek Onias also means 'help'. The Oniads, who were descendants of the High Priest Zadok, held the Highpriesthood for many years before the Hasmonean takeover, but under Antiochus Epiphanes they fled to Egypt and there established a Temple on the same pattern as that at Jerusalem. The place was called 'On-topolis (for the family of 'Onias); Tell Yehudidyah (for the clan of Jedidiah); and H'Eliopolis (for the family of H'Eli).[24] When Onias returned to Judaea under Herod the Great their priestly division bore the Greek name Boethus which also means 'to assist' or 'help' in Greek. Therefore, rather than seeing the families of Theophilus, Boethus and Phabi as interlopers we should recognize that as upper class Jews they had changed their names to accommodate the language of the country which they had fled to in exile from their native land. The High Priests of the Herodian – Roman period were Zadokite priests with a rightful claim to that office.

Rather than assuming that Herod would try to usurp the Highpriesthood, as well as the Kingship, by placing ineligible priests in that office we suggest that Herod was a wily ruler who knew how to gain the support of diverse groups. For example, he brought back some landless, upper class Jews from Babylonia and gave them land in his newly acquired territories of Gaulantis, Batanaea, Trachonitis and Auranitis.

For the most part, these people remained loyal to Herod throughout his reign and those of three of his descendants.[25] This suggests an alternative to the theory that Herod and his descendants appointed obscure families to the Highpriesthood. It is more likely that Herod, in his struggle with the remaining descendants of the Hasmoneans, appointed High Priests from the family which held the Highpriesthood before the Hasmoneans took over; this was the family of 'Onias, of the clan of Jedidiah, who were sons of Zadok. What scholars have overlooked in their work on the Herodian High Priests (and there is not too much of it) is that their evidence comes from Josephus and the later material in the Talmud. It is natural that Josephus would call these men usurpers of the Highpriesthood, because he was descended from the Hasmoneans and thought of them as the rightful line of High Priests. He felt that the other High Priestly families had no claim to the office which had been given to Simeon Maccabeus and his descendants, until "Elijah shall come again".[26]

Abba Shaul's famous deprecation of the Highpriesthood can be explained in much the same manner; he, like Josephus, was a Hillelite Pharisee who thought of those who belonged to any other sect as uneducated, backward and non-religious Jews. Abba Shaul described the Herodian High Priests in the following terms,

> Woe unto me because of the house of Baithos [Boethus]; woe unto me for their lances [or evil speaking].
> Woe unto me because of the house of Hanin [Annas]; woe unto me for their whisperings [or calumnies].
> Woe unto me because of the house of Qathros [Kantheras]; woe unto me because of their reed pens [or written decrees].
> (Some versions have in place of the line above - Woe unto me because of the house of 'Elisha, woe unto me because of their fists). If they do not have this line they state the following - Woe unto me because of the house of Ishmael ben Phabi [Abijah];

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> woe unto me because of their fists [or all the riots they caused].
> For they are High Priests and their sons are treasurers and their sons-in-law are Temple overseers.
> And their servants smite the people [in some versions 'us'] with sticks.[27]

According to Josephus' beliefs the legal High Priest was to be a Hasmonean and the office was to remain within that family until Elijah came in the last days to set all matters, such as this, right. Herod could not have gotten away with appointing just anyone to the Highpriesthood. And even if he did, when the Romans took over they would have restored the rightful High Priest in order to keep the populace quiet, and to follow their own policy, which was to support the collaborating upper classes.[28] However, Herod did make a politically advantageous move. He reinstated the descendants (sons) of Zakok to the Highpriesthood which had been their's before the takeover by the Hasmoneans. Thus, we should understand that the Herodian appointees — Theophilus, Boethus and Abijah/Phabi — were all Zadokite priests with a rightful claim to the Highpriesthood.

The NT's information about John the Baptist shows that he was a priest of the House of Abijah as was his father Zechariah before him. Who were the priests of Abijah/Phabi? They are listed in I Chronicles 24:7 as the eighth division of the priests. Also, there is evidence in the Talmud that this family existed in the first century A. D.[29] As Levin has pointed out Abiah/Abijah may mean 'the Lord (Jah) is my Father' or 'Father of Jah (the Lord)'. The latter interpretation would be inconceivable to the Hebrews so the first must pertain. This would also seem to apply where Ahijah has been written in the text. While to call oneself 'the brother of Jah' (Ahi means 'brother' in Hebrew) would not be impossible, a textual emendation seems more likely here. Levin explains the persistance of scribal errors in manuscripts and shows that Abijah/Abiah/and Abbah are really scribal changes of the same name.[30]

The Talmud records a story about the priestly family of Abijah,

> God said, 'Therefore, I have sworn unto the House of 'Eli, that the iniquity of 'Eli's House shall not be purged with sacrifice nor meat offering forever'. Rabha, however, said: 'Even in such a case it is only through sacrifices that sin cannot be purged, but by (the study of) the Law it may be'; and Abijah (Abaya) said: 'With sacrifice and offering it cannot be purged, but by (the study of) the Law, and by active benevolence (good works) it can'. Abijah had based this opinion on his own experience, for he and his teacher, Rabha, were both descendants of the House of 'Eli. Rabha who only studied the Law, lived forty years, but Abijah, who studied the Torah and in addition performed acts of benevolence lived sixty years.[31]

Thus we are shown that the family of Abijah were descendants of 'Eli, and this is noted as the name of Jesus' grandfather in Luke. Bartlett has shown that II Esdras has members of the House of 'Eli as successors and relatives of Zadok the High Priest.[32] Esdras lists 'Eli as the father of Phineas who is the father of Achias. Achias is a variant spelling of Ahijah who according to I Samuel is the grandson of Phinehas (Phineas), 'Eli's son. Thus we can see that Abijah/Phabi was not only of the sons of Zadok but is documented as being descendants of the House of 'Eli.

In our discussion of the family of Abijah/Phabi we encounter one of the most noteworthy priests from the first century A.D. in Elisha ben Abujah (Abijah), who was called 'The Other' because of his apostate views. Some scholars have seen in this apostate nametag a reference to Elisha's adoption of Christianity. Elisha tells us a story which is recorded in the Talmud, and which places him in Jerusalem long before

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the destruction of the Temple. He relates how his father, who belonged to the aristocracy of Jerusalem, and the 'great men' of that city danced at Elisha's circumcision celebration. The social life of the upper classes of Jerusalem was curtailed with the destruction of the Temple and the 'great men' moved to their country homes or to the lesser cities of Judaea-Galilee.[33]

Elisha ben Abijah/Phabi was called a traitor, as well as an apostate. This was because he supposedly informed on his fellow Jews to the Roman officials. When he is referred to in the Talmud his real name is seldom used and we most often see him called 'The Other'. He was known to be one of the most learned men of his time, but his love of Greek mysticism and tales of reincarnation allowed the Hillelite Pharisees to attack him. Even so he was a friend of Rabbi Akibah and was the teacher of Rabbi Meir, who were well respected aristocratic but liberal (Hillelite) Pharisees. Some scholars have speculated that Elisha was excommunicated by the Pharisees for being a Sadducee, but this is highly unlikely since Pharisees could not excommunicate Sadducees though they could put political and religious pressure on them. This was due to the fact that since the middle of the first century B.C. the Pharisees had increasingly gained control over the government and the Temple. This influence and changes in the social structure of the ruling class can be seen in the fact that Josephus, a priest and a member of the Hasmonean family, called himself 'a Pharisee of Pharisees'.[34]

Pharisees could however, excommunicate other Pharisees. It is possible that Elisha was a member of the less powerful of the two factions which the Pharisees were divided into — the Shammaites. One faction followed the teachings of Shammai and the other faction followed those of Hillel. The followers of Shammai were mostly patricians and priests, while its left wing allied itself with the Zealot movement. The Zealots were blamed, by Josephus, for the destruction of the Temple and this has negatively colored history's perception of this group. Their principal leaders were priests: Eleazar ben Simeon and Zechariah ben Abchelus. And it seems likely that most of their members were priests as the choice of their name seems to echo the OT's description of Phineas, (son of Eleazar, who was the son of Aaron) as zealous for the Lord.[35]

Shammai himself was called 'the carpenter' (craftsman — the word in Hebrew, banah, allows both these meanings). He was a priest from the Galilee and had great influence on the shaping of the Pharisees during the reigns of the Herodians. Shammai and Hillel seem to have, when possible, continued the traditions of deciding cases by citing a precedent (I heard from Ishmael who heard from Jesus that...). As the most famous leaders of the two factions of the Pharisees matters of controversy seem to have been preserved according to their names and statements.[36]

Generally Shammai's views are mentioned before those of Hillel and this may be due to his higher social standing or the greater antiquity of his views. Some of the disputes between the two schools took place in the forecourt of the Temple and involved such matters as: the separation of the priestly dues and tithes, marriage and divorce, levitical cleanliness and abstinence, and the priestly duties of sacrifice, blessing and prayer. Despite the disagreements, priestly members of the two schools of Pharisees intermarried and borrowed utensils from each other.[37]

Among Shammai's followers were upper class plantation owners and emancipated women, like those who ministered to Jesus from their resources, from the Galilee. Though these landowners and women were educated in Jewish law and traditions, and even in some Greek learning, they were called Am Ha Arez which means 'People of the Country' (in the sense of country bumpkin) by those who lived in and around Jerusalem. Many of these upper class Galileans were priests and Shammaites. Jerusalem priests accused their Galilean counterparts of being unlettered and uneducated though they knew that this was not the case. This opinion was certainly typical of the social views of the upper classes of the Roman Empire. Those who lived in the cosmopolitan cities of Rome and Jerusalem looked down on the members of their class who chose to live on their plantations during the greater part of the year. One could only be a true gentlemen, according to these city dwellers, by participating in the political and social events of the capital.[38] These Galileans allied themselves with the upper class landowners of the coastal plain and the Shephelah (the transition zone between the coastal plains and Hebron and the Jerusalem mountains); with provincial priests who often could not make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and were poor though of noble families; with farmers of the highlands of Samaria and parts of Judaea; and with the middle classes of Jerusalem who made up the lower levels of the lay patricians, and the Zadokite priests who (before Herod) were no longer among the powerful.[39]

During the Herodians' reign some of the Shammaites held key offices among the Temple elite. They were committed to the democratization of the social structure of the Temple and aided the Levites in their desire for greater leniancy in the laws of connubium. They also encouraged Agrippa II to allow the Levites to wear the linen garments as the priests did when they served in the Temple.[40] Thus the family of Abijah/Phabi belonged to an important faction in the socio-economic structure of Judaea in the first century A.D.

Some of the members of Shammai's faction were:

1. Ananias, the High Priest from 47 to at least 55 A.D. (he is not to be confused with Annas who was a Sadducean High Priest). Ananias was also called Zebedias (Zebedee) and was exceedingly rich. Josephus states that his family was at the center of the struggle among the priesthood for the office of High Priest. For Ananias was militantly anti-Sadducean and was involved in obtaining mercenaries to fight against them in the street riots over the Highpriesthood.[41]

2. His son, Eleazar ben Ananias was a Shammaite and was partially responsible for the cessation of the daily sacrifices for the Roman Emperor which were offered in the Temple in Jerusalem. Josephus tells us,

> At the same time in the Temple courts Eleazar, son of Ananias the High Priest, and a very confident young man, who was governor [in Greek-*epistátēs*] of the Temple, persuaded the ministers of the Temple to accept no gift or offering from any foreigner. It was this that made war with Rome inevitable; for they abolished the sacrifices offered for Rome and Caesar himself, and in spite of the earnest appeals of the chief priests and prominent citizens not to cancel the customary offering for the government [the Roman] they would not give in. Their numbers made them supremely confident, backed as they were by the toughest of the revolutionaries, but chiefly they pinned their faith on Eleazar, the governor of the Temple.[42]

Eleazar's behavior towards the Temple sacrifices was that of a Zealot in that no foreigner's offering would be allowed to pollute the Temple of God; for they would have no King but God. Eleazar was appointed by the High Priest as the General for Idumaea in the war (66-73 A.D.) against Rome. All Jewish generals were priests. They were called 'priests anointed for war', and like Josephus, the historian and general, all the generals of the 66 A.D. revolt came from the priestly class. They were trained in military strategy, and knew the proper incantations and wrote out the signs which were carried before the Army and called on God for assistance. Even though Ananias' and Eleazar's actions could be construed as those of a Zealot, they were not members of that group. Indeed, Ananias and his brother, Hezekiah, were murdered by the extreme faction of the Zealots — the Sicarii.[43]

3. Hananiah ben Hezekiah, a cousin of Eleazar's, was responsible for the reconciliation of the Aramaic and Greek versions of the book of Ezekiel. Hananiah also compiled a list of joyous holidays, on which no one was allowed to fast.[44]

4. Baba (Babbas) ben Buta was a disciple of Shammai, and a judge of the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem during the reign of Herod the Great. He was known for his just decisions and was, supposedly, blinded by Herod for his participation in the 7-6 B.C. revolt. Herod had slaughtered all the teachers and some of their disciples, who had participated in tearing down the golden eagle which Herod had placed above the Temple entrance. Babbas was a priest like the others in this list. This is indicated by Josephus who refers to the 'Sons of Babbas' who were among the noblemen of Jerusalem and who were also among the remaining Hasmoneans who had claims to the throne. According to Josephus they were beloved by the people and had remained in hiding for many years.

Eventually Herod found them and executed them. When Herod blinded Babbas it is recorded that he "placed on his head a garland of hedgehog bristles (similar to the crown of thorns worn by Jesus) and put out his eyes".[45]

5. Joezar, the son of Boethus, was the master of the Temple (oikiodespotes) and was a contemporary of Gamaliel I (the elder). The Boethusians were related by marriage to both Herod the Great and the Hasmoneans. Joezar's son, Joseph, was called the "most pious in the priesthood".[46] Joezar himself was High Priest in 4 B.C. Later generations of Pharisaic Rabbis called the Boethusians 'heretics' because they followed Shammai's rulings instead of Hillel's.[47]

Shammai is often presented by scholars as intractably conservative, but this was not the case. The school of Shammai tended towards the plain, narrow, literal interpretation of a verse in the Torah. These interpretations were conservative in a creative, innovative, non-Sadducean way; but not in the sociological sense. In about fifty cases, his views were more lenient than those of the school of Hillel.[48] It was said that Hillel often retracted his opinions and agreed with Shammai, but that only once did Shammai change his, and even this one time is in doubt. In matters relating to the Temple, Hillel always accepted Shammai's views. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that Shammai came from a priestly family of great standing and knew the Temple ritual well. However, after the destruction of the Temple, the Hillelites took over the Pharisaic party and the influence of the Shammaites slowly disappeared. The priestly Shammaites lost the main source of their income when the Temple was destroyed, though some of the people continued to bring them the tithes. The social focus of many Shammaites gradually changed and they came to be seen as conservative and unchangeable. Their high ranking in the priesthood may have been the background for the statement that "In the world to come (the Kingdom of God) halakhah (legal decisions) will be decided according to the House of Shammai".[49]

Shammai objected to the Hillelite Pharisees' reliance on oral interpretation and the legal decisions of earlier teachers of the Law. He chose to follow what he saw as the literal interpretation of the biblical text. As a result many Samaritans followed Shammai's rulings and decisions.[50] This caused some people to give the Shammaites the epithet 'Samaritan'. Many of Jesus' proclamations, including his views on divorce and foot washing, are identical with those of the school of Shammai. The differences between the Hillelites and the Shammaites regarding ablution is significant because both John the Baptist and Jesus clearly took the Shammaite position. According to Matthew, John used 'living water' for his baptism ritual. This establishes John as an anti-Hillelite Pharisee since Hillelites ritually bathed in water which could be stored in jugs or pools. We have evidence in the NT that Jesus condemned them for this practice. The followers of Shammai bathed in 'living' (water which moved) water only. The differences between the two factions over ritual bathing were of crucial importance since the 'remission of sin' was involved.[51]

Immersion in 'living water' according to Shammai was necessary to correct ritual impurity. The ritually impure, or unclean, person was not allowed to perform or participate in certain rites. Ablution, sometimes followed by a period of withdrawal from the community, rendered a man clean. Ablution should not be confused with washing for the sake of cleanliness; for the body had to be entirely clean even before ablution.[52] There were three types of ablution:

1. Immersion of hands and feet which was a priestly requirement only and had to be done before their participation in the Temple service.

2. Washing hands was the most widespread form of ablution. This was a custom which spread from the priests to the rest of the people. Since the priests were required to wash their hands before eating consecrated food the Pharisees, who considered themselves as a consecrated part of the congregation, adapted this rite.

3. Complete immersion involved the person, or object, to be purified to be immersed totally in 'living water' (a spring, river or sea which contained at least 120 gallons of water) that had been brought together by natural means, not by man. It could not be drawn water. After the destruction of the Temple the Hillelite Pharisees changed this rule so that drawn water would suffice. However, the Christians, Ebionites, Karaites and Shammaites continued to maintain that the water had to be 'living'. Complete immersion was required as part of the ceremony of conversion to Judaism and the early Christians adapted the ritual for their use.[53]

The Gospel of John tells us that,

> many went up to Jerusalem, out of the country, before the Passover, that they might purify (cleanse) themselves. (11:55)

John interestingly adds: "Therefore they were seeking Jesus...". (11:56). Why would they look for Jesus if what they wanted was to cleanse themselves from their sins? Only priests could grant anyone release from a sin and unless Jesus was a priest why were the people looking for him. Thus the NT tells us that both John the Baptist and Jesus baptized the people. We need to ask here what does the Greek word baptizein, which is used by the Gospels to describe the actions of John and Jesus as well as being the epithet by which John is known, mean? Baptizein in the Greek version of the OT (the Septuagint or for our purposes the LXX) is used to translate 'to dip', 'immerse', or 'sink'.[54] Josephus uses it to mean 'to swamp' as when he describes refugees inundating a city. In Hebrew the word is tebelah and means 'immersion' which is the act of washing so as to correct a condition of ritual impurity. The ritually impure or unclean person was prohibited from performing certain functions and participating in certain rites of sacrifice. Immersion (baptism) rendered him clean. This must not be confused with washing away dirt for the sake of cleanliness. This can be seen from the fact that the entire body had to be clean before baptism. Immersions were especially required of priests since they had to be in a state of purity in order to participate in the Temple service and to be able to eat of the holy things which were brought as tithes or sacrificed to God. Others only had to be pure when they entered the Temple or ate the Passover sacrifice.[55]

Israelites came to the Temple for various reasons: (1) to fulfill the obligation of offering the first fruits, the tithes and the wave-offerings; (2) to worship and pray; (3) to pose legal questions on tradition and to study the Torah; and (4) to participate in Temple worship, as the member of an Israelite deputation, alongside the priests of God. Many also came to cleanse themselves of the 'severe impurities' caused by the defilement occasioned by contact with the dead and which required sprinkling with 'cleansing water' on the fourth and seventh day of that defilement. However, cleansing water was not only to be found at the Temple; it was found in Judaea, Galilee, Trans-Jordan and Etzion-Geber in the South.[56] But if a man purified himself for the Passover near his home and then contacted a defilement on his procession to Jerusalem he would have to bathe twice. Thus many waited until they arrived in Jerusalem. However, it was not necessary for any particular priest to approve this immersion rite and declare the participant clean. Only in the case of the priests themselves was it necessary that a chief priest or one of the officers of the Temple pronounce them clean and able to serve in the Temple. For example, a priest who had been made unclean by any kind of excema (often called leprosy in the OT and NT) had to be seen naked by one of these officers and declared able to participate in the Temple ritual.[57] This might explain why John tells us that those who needed to purify themselves were looking for Jesus. They must have been priests and they needed to be baptized by a chief priest and so they were looking for Jesus. Jesus as a chief priest is discussed in Chapter Four.

Thus it may be that John's baptism can be explained as granting 'remission from sin' (for the sins which the people confessed to him) by immersion. Both Luke and Matthew record some interesting statements by John which definitely support the view that he was a chief priest,

> And he went into all the country around the Jordan proclaiming Baptism of repentance ['immersion for repentance' would also be a good translation here as has been shown] for the remission of sins; as it has been written in the book of the words of Isaiah the

> prophet saying, 'A voice of one in the wilderness crying, "Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. Every ravine shall be filled up and every mountain and hill shall be made low and the crooked places shall become a straight path and the rough roads into smooth and all flesh shall see the salvation of God". He said therefore to the crowds coming out to be baptized by him "offspring of vipers who forewarned you to flee from the coming wrath? Produce therefore fruits worthy of repentance; and do not begin to say in yourselves "We have Abraham for a father" for I say to you that God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham. But already the axe is also applied to the root of the trees; therefore every tree not producing good fruit is cut down and is cast into the fire'. (Luke 3:3-9)

Among the regular preparations for the Passover festival roads were made straight and holes were filled up and bridges were rebuilt after the winter rains. On the first day of Adar (the month before Nisan in which Passover occurs) priestly messengers and their Levite servants travelled around the country warning the people that the Shekel for the Temple was due. They also warned against the sowing of diverse kinds (mixtures of crops or clothing forbidden by the Torah). On the fifteenth of Adar these priests read the Megillah (the story of Esther read on the holiday called Purim) in 'walled' cities only. They also repaired the ritual water baths and offered baptism (immersion for the remission of their sins).[58] In addition they urged the people to whitewash their family graves so that pilgrims might not be defiled on their way to Jerusalem by unknowingly stepping on an unmarked grave.

The problem of the people planting 'diverse kinds' against the laws in the Torah was widespread. The Mishnah tells us that at first they used to root them out and cast them down before the owner of the fields or vineyards where they were found. But when the land grew scarce and times were bad due to the Roman occupation and high taxes there were many transgressors and the priests would have to root them out and throw them away where they could not be replanted. Later it was ordained that the whole field where diverse kinds were sown should be considered ownerless property. The priests' authority for these actions was based on the Torah,

> You shall not sow your vineyard with two kinds of seed, lest the whole yield be forfeited to the sanctuary, the crop which you have sown and the yield of the vineyard (Deuteronomy 22:9 and Leviticus 19:19).

As can be seen this might result in abuses by the priests. Some priests claimed fields on very flimsy evidence. Later on the Pharisees forbade the sowing of two types of seed in every field, as well as the grafting of one tree on to another type. They also forbade the planting of corn or vegetables in a vineyard, unless they were at least four cubits from the vines (a cubit was the length of a man's forearm or 18-22 inches). These priestly messengers were sent out by the Priestly Court, in the same manner that Jesus sent out 'The Seventy', and were supposed to note where these violations were. They were even permitted to proclaim the banning of the produce where needed.[59]

This circumstance would explain John's reply to those who collected the custom (the levitical tithes) and to the Levite soldiers who went with them.

> Teacher what shall we do? And he said to them, 'Nothing more beyond that which is commanded in scripture for you to exact.' And those who were soldiers on service also asked him saying, 'And we, what shall we do?' And he said to them, 'No one oppress nor accuse falsely, and be satisfied with your wages.' (Luke 3:12-14).

Thus it can be seen that John is telling the collectors of the priestly portions of the tithe to exact from the people not more than that which is allowed them in the Torah. And to the Temple soldiers who went with them to see that the taxes were paid without trouble he said things which no one would say to a regular army soldier. A Roman legionaire or an auxiliary soldier does not regularly go around accusing other people of crimes. What John is referring to is the enforcement of the planting regulations and he tells them not to go beyond their authority and accuse people falsely in order to take their fields or their crops and just be satisfied with what God had ordained as their share. According to Jeremias the priestly tithes included: a portion of the crops or equal amounts of money instead; the first born of animals; the first fruits of orchards and vineyards; and the 'second' tithe which was a tax on income from crops and cattle and was considered to be an income tax.[60]

As a Shammaite John thus advocated the use of 'living water' and the payment of all the required priestly tithes. He also cautioned his fellow priests and the levites against going beyond the Law. But the financial squeeze which the Romans put on the Province of Judaea affected everyone. In the second half of the first century A.D., Shammai's faction was increasingly driven towards the side of the more activist rebels against Rome and its own activist wing of Zealots.[61] In those final years the priesthood coalesced into two major groupings: those who sided with the House of Annas and those who followed the family of Ishmael ben Abijah/Phabi. It was mentioned earlier that Elisha ben Abijah/Phabi was excommunicated for his beliefs. As earlier discussions have indicated there was a growing antagonism and struggle for power between the two schools of first century Pharisaism, and Elisha may well have been excommunicated because of his role in this struggle.[62]

Another member of the Abijah/Phabi family was Ishmael ben Elisha who was also called Ishmael ben Abijah/Phabi as well as Ishmael ben Zadok. These are not the names of three different men, as some scholars, who are unfamiliar with the history and sociology of Judaea, claim.[63] A man might be identified in many ways outside his own family. In addition to his personal name he might be known as Ishmael the son of (ben, bar).... . Sometimes if his grandfather was well known he might be known as his son, not his grandson. He might also be called by his Father's House (extended family), his clan's name or the name of his tribe. Elisha is Ishmael's natural father, and Abijah/Phabi is the name of his priestly division (clan). The epithet, Zadok, indicates that he claimed descent from David's High Priest and from the High Priests who ruled the State and Temple until governmental control was taken over by the Maccabees.[64]

However, in most cases, such as in Josephus or the NT when Zadok appears in Greek as dikaios, it is usually translated into English as "the Just". This may be an accurate translation, in some cases, but where a priest is involved, the more logical explanation would be that it refers to a son of Zadok. For example, according to scholars, Simon 'Onias, High Priest in the third century B.C., was called "the Just". In each case, including Simon's, where dikaios is taken to mean a Zadokite it fits the context far better. Zadok is a name which is frequently found in our Jewish sources for the first century A.D., and it usually means that the man is a 'son of Zadok'. This applies in particular to Jesus' brother James and to his father Joseph who are both called dikaios. This will be discussed further in a later Chapter.[65]

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Another member of the Abijah/Phabi family was Phanni (Phineas, Pinhas or Phanuel are all variations of the same name) of H'abta (Aphthia was a town in the Galilee and was probably named for the Phabi family as Gamala was for the family of Gamaliel). Phanni was chosen as High Priest in 67 A.D. when the Zealots decided to select the High Priest by lot from among the Zadokite families. Jeremias notes that Phineas was called my son-in-law by Rabbi Hananiah ben Gamaliel.[66] This High Priest was also called the 'son of Ishmael' and dikaios (Zadok). This places him within the extended family of Ishmael ben Abijah/Phabi. Much has been made of Josephus' remark that Phineas was a "country boy", but this should not be interpreted the way it has been. Josephus' bias against the High Priestly tribes (phyle) other than his own has already been discussed, as has the view that anyone from the Galilee was automatically considered to be uneducated. Phineas was not a poor, stupid stone-cutter brought to the Highpriesthood by game playing Zealots. He was a Zadokite, most probably a son of Ishmael ben Abijah/Phabi II, and he had been living on his family's estate in the Galilee because his father had been condemned by Agrippa II and sent to Rome where he was being held under house arrest.[67]

Another family member, an Ishmael ben Abijah/Phabi was High Priest in 15-16 A.D., and as has been noted, another High Priest of the same name was deposed from the Highpriesthood in 61-62 A.D. The first Ishmael, was the son, or nephew of Jesus ben Abijah/Phabi who became High Priest after the second term of Ananiel (Ananias). Jesus served until 22 B.C. when he was replaced by Simon Boethus whose father had been a very important and politically powerful priest in Egypt. One of the two Ishmael's was also called Rabbi and was said to have had visions in the Holy of Holies (the inner sanctuary of the Temple where God appeared on the Day of Atonement).[68] Since the High Priest entered the Holy of Holies only on the Day of Atonement it must be this occasion that the stories refer to. It was thought that God bestowed these visions upon the High Priests as a way of predicting the events of the coming year and the people waited hopefully outside while the High Priest entered God's room.

All priests were thought to be endowed with two extraordinary gifts: (1) the power of prophecy; (2) the art of healing, or the laying on of hands. They also had the duty of teaching the people about the word of God.[69] By Jesus' time only the High Priests were thought close enough to God to possess all of these gifts. The NT tells us that Jesus possessed these gifts and this would fit with what we know about priests. This is discussed further in later Chapters.

As has been shown the priestly members of the Abijah/Phabi family in addition to possessing the gifts of prophecy and healing shared a common title which has sometimes been mis-interpreted as "the Just" (dikaios). They also shared another title — Rabbi. The fact that even before the destruction of the Temple many members of the family of Elisha ben Abijah/Phabi were called Rabbi holds a special significance in relation to Jesus. The fact that Jesus was called Rabbi, and in one place Rabbouni (Rabban), has puzzled translators and expositors alike. Evidence indicates that the earliest usage of these terms was in reference to members of the priesthood, not the scribes who later became the Rabbis of normative Judaism.[70] Albright notes that the title "Rabbu Kahinima" was the name of the chief of the priests of the Syrians as early as the 14th century B.C.[71] Josephus refers to the High Priest of the Jews as Kahana Rabba.[72]

The priesthood was divided into four tribes (phyle) and then into clans or divisions. The divisions were broken down into Father's Houses which performed the daily service and these were composed of many individual families united by consanguinity. There were anywhere from four to seven Father's Houses per division; while a tribe was composed of about 5,000 priests. The priestly divisions were presided over by the Rosh ha Mishmar (the Head of the Divisions) and he was assisted by the Rosh beth Ab (the Head of a Father's House). The elders, or the heads of each Father's House, were entrusted with the keys to the Temple and constituted the Priests' Council. The head of a Father's House was called Rabbi. Originally this name belonged to the chief priest among his brothers, but in Second Temple times it referred to the heads of the Father's Houses. The title Rabban, or Rabbouni, was reserved for the Chief of all the Father's Houses, or the Rosh ha Mishmar. When Jesus' novitiates, or disciples, addressed him as Rabbi it was because of his position as head of their Father's House, and when he was referred to as Rabbouni, it was because Jesus was serving as Chief of the division. This is discussed further in a later Chapter.

Jeremias states that the House of Abijah/Phabi provided at least seven High Priests during NT times.[74] In addition, two of these High Priests were substituted for by their own brothers: Joseph and Jeshea (Joshua/Jesus). The two High Priests had become ritually unclean and could not direct the holy services. Evidence indicates that Joseph ben Eli' substituted for his brother, Mattathias Theophilus, in March of 5 B.C.[75] Jesus probably substituted for Jonathan Theophilus in 36 A.D. Once a priest had substituted for another as High Priest, he could no longer serve in the Temple, or be eligible for the Highpriesthood, until the one he had substituted for died. He was then reinstated.[76] This was done in order to suppress possible conflict over which one was the rightful High Priest. However, Herod and the Romans replaced the High Priests so frequently, as often as every year, that this element of struggle over the office was intense by Jesus' time.

Another High Priest from the family of Abijah/Phabi was Mattathias Theophilus who served as High Priest from 5-4 B.C. Mattathias was married to a daughter of Simeon Boethus, who was High Priest from 22 B.C. Jesus ben Se'o, the High Priest of 6 A.D. was probably their son. Mattathias was called Theophilus because his division belonged to the priestly tribe of Jedidiah, which in Greek is Theophilus. As mentioned earlier, Joseph, Mattathias' brother, substituted for him in 5 B.C. at the feast of Passover. The next High Priest of the family was "the brother of Theophilus".[77] Josephus does not give us his name though it probably was Jesus since we know that the other substitute brother was Joseph who served in 5 B.C. Jesus served from Tishri (The Day of Atonement and Sukkah) of 36 to Nisan (Passover) of 37 A.D. He had replaced Jonathan Theophilus who had only served from Passover of 36 A.D. to Pentecost of the same year. The significance of these people and their relationship to Jesus will be discussed in a later Chapter.

There is evidence which shows that members of the High Priestly

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group were among the earliest followers of Jesus. The NT book of Acts demonstrates that sons of a certain High Priest were adherents of Jesus, even after his crucifixion. It is crucial to find out who these priests were and how they were related to Jesus,

> But an attempted attack by certain men from among the missionaries [priests and levites sent out by the Temple authorities] who went in circuits to visit the Diaspora [the Jews who lived outside of Judaea] and the Galilee communities; notable Jews who administer oaths over those who had viceful spirits [a Hebraism which is meant in the moral sense of transgressions against the Law - i.e. purification after giving birth; having excema-leprosy, etc.] in the name of Lord Jesus saying" 'We administer an oath to you by Jesus whom Paul proclaims.' And they were seven sons of a certain Sceva (Skeua) a Jew, a High Priest, who were ordained [appointed to do] to do this. (Acts 19:13-14)

The immediate relevance of this section is in its reference to the sons of Skeua (Sceva) a High Priest of the Jews. Jeremias, in his outstanding work on Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus, recognizes that "the term 'High Priests' is used no less than sixty-four times in the Gospels and in Acts ....".[78] The plural form is always used even though, at any given time, only one High Priest could hold the office. However, Jeremias is confused here by the use of the title "high priests and elders". Though later he does mention that he is aware of the fact that under Herod and the Romans the Priests' Council, or Sanhedrin, was composed of men who had been High Priest and other officers of lesser position in the priesthood, he does not recognize that it is to this group that the NT term refers. They were responsible for the conduct of all their fellow priests, and for the Levites too. They also had the right to make certain that the Temple rites were correctly performed and to punish the transgressors with stripes and even death. The reason why Jeremias does not recognize the possibility that the Priest' Council is meant when "high priests and elders" is mentioned is due to what he calls a "major draw back".[79] According to Jeremias, "This solution, [that the Priests' Council is meant] however, breaks down since all the sources repeatedly name as High Priests men who do not appear in Josephus' complete list of high priests".[80] It should be noted here that we have no way of knowing that Josephus' list of High Priests is either complete or accurate. The Talmud's total for the final number of High Priests varies from eighty-three to eighty-eight.[81] We will examine the list of Jeremias' non-high priests to see if it really does invalidate the Priests' Council solution:

1. Jesus, son of Sapphia, "one of the High Priests" (B.J. 2:566)
2. Simon, "from the number of the high priests" (Vita 197)
3. Matthias, son of Boethus (B.J. 4:574; 5:527-531; 6:114)
4. Levi, the High Priest who rebuked Jesus Christ for entering the Holy Place [the inner Temple of the sanctuary] without observing the rules of cleanliness (Oxyrhynchus Fragment 1908, v. 840)
5. Zadok (Lam. Rabbah 1:49 on 1:16; Son 1:46, 127f.)
6. Issachar from Kephar Barqai (b. Pes. 57a. Bar)
7. Skeva "a high priest of the Jews whose seven sons practiced exorcism in Ephesus" (Acts 19:14)

Each name on Jeremias' list can be identified with a known High Priest. This may be done through careful use of the techniques of onomastics, and the information provided by Josephus and his use and spelling of names.

1. Jesus, son of Sapphia — In the transposition of elements what we have here is aphia(s)/abia(s) and the Jesus mentioned here is probably Jesus ben Abijah/Phabi who was High Priest in 22 B.C.

2. Simon would seem to be no problem since there were three Simons who were High Priests under Herod and the Romans: Simon Boethus, Simon Kamithos (Chamitheos) and Simon Kantheras (Chantheras).

3. Mattathias, son of Boethus can be explained if it is recognized that Boethus is not a man's name, but the name of a division of the priesthood. Under the Herodians and the Romans there were three Mattathias in the office; one belonged to the family of Annas, while the other two were both called Mattathias Theophilus. One Theophilus served in 5-4 B.C. and the other in 65-67 A.D. The first Mattathias was married to a daughter of Boethus and since Boethus was a very powerful priestly house, Josephus could have thought of him as a Boethid. Mattathias' children would be considered as either a Boethid or a Theophilus.[82]

4. Levi is one of the names that someone who is named Mattathias can be called. For comparison, in English we have Robert being called Bob. This Mattathias is undoubtedly Mattathias, son of Annas who was High Priest about 42 A.D. He could easily have been the Levi who rebuked Jesus Christ for not following the rules of cleanliness for a priest who was about to enter the Holy of Holies. Another reason for suspecting that this was Mattathias, son of Annas, is that it was other members of the Annas family who persecuted and killed James as well as Jesus, and who were in power when the early Christian movement was put under pressure.

5. Zadok, as has been shown, could have been the name of any member of the Abijah/Phabi, Boethus, or Theophilus family since they were descended from the High Priest Zadok and bore the title "sons of Zadok". More importantly, in a parallel passage this High Priest is called Ishmael ben Elisha instead of Zadok.[83] It is not our purpose here to get involved in the discussion of whether or not all priests

from David's time to the Maccabean revolt were the direct descendants of Zadok. However, it can be demonstrated that in the first century A.D. such terms as the "sons of Zadok" were in use and that certain ideas regarding them were commonly held.[84] It was believed that when Ezra returned from Babylonia he brought with him the priestly families of Phinehas and Ithamar. The Zadokites traced their ancestry back to Phinehas who had been promised by God that his descendants would hold the priesthood forever. Phinehas was the son of Eleazar who had been named by God as Aaron's successor to the Highpriesthood. de Vaux has stated, "The only explanation for the references to Phinehas in Esdras 8:2 is that at some date between Zorobabel and Esdras, the Sadoqites had begun to claim Aaron as their ancestor".[85] He feels that they were doing this in order to counteract the claims of other priests who were tracing their ancestry back to Aaron. de Vaux identifies this other group as the family of Ebyathar, who represented the House of 'Eli and who boasted of their levitical descent from Moses and Aaron. When the priesthood was divided into twenty-four divisions, sixteen of them belonged to the family of Eleazar and eight to the family of Ithamar. Eleazar and Phineas were regarded as more noble than Ithamar because Eleazar was the only priest mentioned in the stories about the desert wanderings. Thus the "sons of Zadok" retained a certain distinction even though by the first century all priests were called "sons of Aaron".

6. Issachar is a little harder to identify but the name can also be written as Sachariah, Zachariash, Sacchias, Ish'sachar. He may be identified with Joezar Boethus who was High Priest about 4 B.C. and

whose name can also be written as Jitschar, Joschar, Sachariah.

7. Skeva holds the most interest for us. Skeva, or Skeuas, derives from the Latin Scaeva, meaning 'left handed'. When 'left handed' is translated into Hebrew the name becomes Ishmael. The only Ishmael who was High Priest in Paul's time was Ishmael ben Abijah/Phabi who was High Priest until 61 A.D. when, as has been mentioned, he was held as a prisoner in Rome. It is probable that Paul, Peter, and Ishmael himself were all prisoners in Rome during the same time period. As has been shown the family of Abijah/Phabi was Jesus' own family and so it is not unlikely that his relatives would use his name in administering oaths for those who had been subject to evil and unclean spirits. Reference to evil spirits was a form of condemnation of activities which the Torah regarded as negative. The Greek text supports this view. Priests were sent out to do the same thing within Judaea and Galilee, and it seems logical that they would perform the same services for their fellow Jews who lived in Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome. This is substantiated by the text of Acts which states that the priests were appointed to do this work. If it is accurate that Jesus' family did not join his followers until after his death then it may be that the seven sons of Ishmael ben Abijah/Phabi could have been representative of the so-called 'Judaisers' who were in conflict with Paul.[86]

What is truly remarkable about the passage from Acts is that it demonstrates that between 55 and 62 A.D. the sons of a Jewish High Priest were not adverse to remitting the sins of their fellow Jews living in the Diaspora in Jesus' name. The sons of a Sadducean High

Priest, such as Annas, would never have done such a thing. This is another testimony of the closeness of the House of Abijah/Phabi and Jesus. It also demonstrates that even as late as 62 A.D., the Jewish-Christians remained within the broad borders of Judaism. It was only after the destruction of the Temple, and especially after the Bar Chochaba revolt, that Christianity and a nascent rabbinical, non-temple dominated Judaism began to irreparably separate.

Thus Jeremias' contention that the just reviewed list precludes any decision that "high priests and elders" could refer to the Priests' Council can not be upheld. All of the names on that list can be shown to belong to someone who served as High Priest. By eliminating Jeremias' major draw back we return to his conclusion and ours, that this term must refer to the Priests' Council. We have shown that the priestly family of Abijah/Phabi had many important and socially active members. Even the NT mentions that members of this family performed healing rites in Jesus' name. The importance of the Priests' Council and its relationship to Jesus will be demonstrated throughout this work.

It can now be seen that John the Baptist and his father, Zechariah, were members of a very powerful priestly family. This family belonged to a faction of the Pharisees, the Shammites, who favored the democratization of the priesthood, and allied themselves with the peasants of the land. It has also been noted that Jesus never denounces the priests, though he frequently speaks against the Hillelite Pharisees.[87] We can now understand why he did so. As a Shammaite he was subject to attack for his beliefs which differed from the Hillelites.

It has long been accepted that Zechariah and John were priests. We have now demonstrated that Maria and Elishabet were related by blood and so Jesus too was a priest from the family of Abijah/Phabi. The connection between John and Jesus has never really been explored despite the fact that all the Gospels note the relationship between the two with the prevailing theme of John as Jesus' predecessor. The importance of Jesus as John's substitute is reviewed in Chapter Four. During the first century A.D. the family of Abijah/Phabi was one of the most powerful families in Judaea-Galilee. They provided no less than seven High Priests. Some of these High Priests and many of the family members have been shown to be adherents of Jesus. Next we will look at evidence which demonstrates that Jesus' father was a priest of the family of Abijah/Phabi and that he married his niece, Maria, according to the common practice of the High Priestly families.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

[1] Luke's preface covers verses 1-4; 'Stumbling' - cf., b. Sanhedrin 55a.-55b.

[2] Luke 2:19. On the Semitic nature of the infancy narrative see Raymond E. Brown, The Birth of the Messiah (New York, 1977), p. 235.

[3] Liddell and Scott, An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford, 1972) p. 752; See Luke 1:36.

[4] John 18:26; Acts 10:24; Romans 9:3, 16:7, 11,21; Luke 2:44.

[5] Luke 14:12; cf., with Old Testament usage I Kings 16:11, II Kings 10:11 (LXX).

[6] Luke 21:16.

[7] Luke 1:5; Also see Brown, Birth, p. 258.

[8] Robert R. Wilson, "Between 'Azel and Azel' Interpreting the Biblical Genealogies," Biblical Archeologist, Vol. 42, Number 1 (Winter 1979), pp. 11-22; Marshall D. Johnson, The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies (Cambridge, 1969); Lord Arthur Hervey, The Genealogies of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ (Cambridge, 1853).

[9] Joachim Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus (Philadelphia, 1969), pp. 93-94, 218; b. Yebamoth 15b.

[10] Ibid.

[11] b. Pesahim 49a.

[12] b. Yebamoth 69b.

[13] b. Yebamoth 66a-58b; Leviticus 22:13 'She shall again return to her father's house as in her youth, and shall eat of her father's meat (the heave offering).

[14] Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v. Temple, p. 976.

[15] Luke 1:5; Matthew 1:7; I Chronicles 7:6-8; I Samuel 9:11.

[16] Jeremias, p. 192.

[17] William Foxwell Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity (Garden City, 1957), p. 240; Moshe Schwabe and Baruch Lifshitz, Beth She'arim (New Brunswick, 1974), p. 32, Vol. II.

[18] Hervey, pp. 132, 157.

[19] Josephus, Against Apion 1:290.

[20] Frey: C.I. Jud. no. 1510; Ronald Syme, The Roman Revolution (Oxford, 1966), p. 84.

[21] Jehoshua M. Grintz, "Jehoezer — Unknown High Priest?", Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. 50 n.s. (1960), p. 344.

[22] I Chronicles 24:12 and Nehemiah 10:3.

[23] S. Safrai and M. Stern, The Jewish People in the First Century (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 570 ff.

[24] Ibid. pp. 123, 274, 1043-1044, 133, 187, 430.

[25] Ibid. pp. 258, 570-571.

[26] I Maccabees 14:41; Also see Michael Avi-Yonah ed., The Herodian Period (New Brunswick, 1975), p. 272.

[27] b. Pesahim 57a.

[28] E. Badian, Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic (Ithaca, 1971), p. 14.

[29] Hanin ben Abaye (b. Pesahim 101a-b); Judah ben Abaye (b. Pesahim 92a); Mari ben Abbuha (b. Hullin 125a, b. Pesahim 83a); Shimi ben Abaye (b. Ketuboth 60a).

[30] Saul Levin, The Father of Joshua/Jesus (Binghamton, 1978), pp. 101-107.

[31] b. Rosh Hashanah 18a.

[32] J. R. Bartlett, "Zadok and His Successors at Jerusalem", Journal of Theological Studies, Series 2, Vol. XIX, (April, 1968), pp. 1-3.

[33] Tosefta Hagigah 2:3; Song of Songs Rabbah 1:4; j. Hagigah 2:1; b. Gittin 58a; Lam. Rabbah 1:49 on 1:16.

[34] Josephus, Life:2.

[35] S. Safrai, p. 578.

[36] b. Shabbat 31a; Also see Louis Finkelstein, Pharisees (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 82.

[37] j. Yebamoth 1:4.

[38] Ronald Syme, The Roman Revolution (Oxford, 1966), p. 453.

[39] Finkelstein, pp. 4-5.

[40] S. Safrai, p. 498; Finkelstein, p. lv.

[41] Tosefta (Menahoth) 13, 22, 534.

[42] Josephus, War 2:416.

[43] S. Safrai, pp. 37-371. Jewish Encyclopedia — s.v. Ananias ben Zebedius.

[44] b. Shabbat 13 b. for the list of holidays; regarding Ezekiel b. Menahoth 45a.

[45] Tosefta Hagigah 2:11.

[46] b. Hagigah 18b.; Jeremias, Jerusalem, p. 234.

[47] b. 'Erubin 68b; Tosefta Yoma 1:8.

[48] Jewish Encyclopedia — s.v. Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai.

[49] Zohar, Ra'aya Meheimna 3:245a.

[50] Moses Gaster, The Samaritans (London, 1925), Second Lecture, pp. 40-95.

[51] Jewish Encyclopedia — s.v. Ablution.

[52] Jewish Encyclopedia — s.v. Ablution.

[53] Ibid.; Jeremias, p. 235.

[54] II Kings 5:14.

[55] Jewish Encyclopedia — s.v. Ablution; Maimonides, Mikva'ot 11:16.

[56] S. Safrai, pp. 876-877; b. Parah, Chapter 8, Mishnah 8, 9, 10, 11.

[57] b. Negaim, Chapter 14, Mishnah 4.

[58] b. Shekalim, Chapter 1, Mishnah 1; also see S. Safrai, "Pilgrimage in the Time of the Second Temple," (In Hebrew) 1965, pp. 111-112; S. Safrai, Jewish People, p. 817-828.

[59] S. Safrai, p. 817-828.

[60] Jeremias, p. 107.

[61] Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism (Philadelphia, 1974), Vol. I, p. 253.

[62] S. Safrai, p. 579.

[63] Harry J. Leon, The Jews of Ancient Rome (Philadelphia, 1960), pp. 94, 100, 112-113.

[64] See Bartlett.

[65] Josephus, War 2:451, 628; Antiquities 11:347-12:239, 20:228.

[66] Jeremias, p. 155.

[67] Safrai, pp. 364-365.

[68] b. Yoma 47a; Jeremias, p. 196 n. 159.

[69] b. Shekalim, Chapter 1, Mishnah 1; b. Tamid 27a; Safrai, p. 951.

[70] Albright, p. 282ff; The Herodian Period, p. 323.

[71] Albright, p. 282.

[72] Josephus, Antiquities 3:156ff; Also note that Yigael Yadin at Masada found a jug with the inscription 'Kahana Raba Aqavia' (The Great Priest Aqavia [Akiba]). See p. 189 of his Masada (New York, 1966).

[73] Safrai, pp. 870-871.

[74] Jeremias, p. 195.

[75] Jeremias, p. 162 n. 48; b. Yoma 472; j. Yoma 14.20, 189.

[76] b. Horayoth 12b.

[77] Josephus, Antiquities 18:123.

[78] Jeremias, p. 175.

[79] Ibid., pp. 175-181.

[80] Ibid., p. 175.

[81] Johnson, p. 204; Hervey, pp. 277-293.

[82] Jeremias, pp. 154-155. A daughter of a priest could make her son eligible for the priesthood even if she was not married to a priest: cf Yebamot and Ketuboth.

[83] Jeremias, p. 175 n. 82; See b. Gittin 582; cf., Lam. Rabbah 1:49 on 1:16.

[84] Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel (New York, 1961), pp. 375-376, 387-389, 394-397, 401.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 396.

[86] Bruce M. Metzger, The New Testament (New York, 1965), pp. 222-223.

[87] Jacob Mann, "Jesus and the Sadducean Priests", Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. VI, New Series (1915 - 1916), p. 415.

Chapter 4

THE MARRIAGE OF UNCLE AND NIECE: MARIA, JOSEPH AND JAMES

Having demonstrated in the previous Chapter that Zechariah, John the Baptist, Joseph ben 'Eli, and Jesus were all priests of the division of Abijah/Phabi, we can now proceed to examine the socio-economic status of Jesus' parents. Contrary to the widely accepted interpretation of Jesus' family as poor, this Chapter will show that though, from time to time, in poor circumstances due to political situations where the Abijah/Phabi family was out of power they were not members of the artisan — peasant 'working' class. The usual views of Jesus' family status have been covered in Chapter 1 and will not be repeated here.

This Chapter will show that Jesus' family had long been Hellenized upper class Jews and for nearly seventy-five years had been becoming increasingly Romanized. This Romanization was manifested not in the literature they wrote nor in their education, which remained primarily Hellenic in nature, but in the choice of names, dress, hair style and association with the Roman government. We will begin by examining the lineage of Jesus' mother, Maria, and then we will look at Joseph, and finally Jesus' brother James. Some of the material covered in this Chapter has never been assembled in an examination of Jesus' family.

I — MARIA

Jesus' mother is called Maria in Matthew and Mariam in Luke. Only once in Matthew is she called Mariam, and this is in a section which seems to be part of an ancient stratum:

> is not this the son of the carpenter, is not his mother called Mariam, and his brothers James and Joses and Simon and Judas and are not all his sisters with us? (Matthew 13:55)

In Hebrew the name would be Mariam and is thought to be derived from one of the three ingredients of the Temple incense — myrh. This spelling of the name resembles the accusative case form of the Latin; the nominative would be Maria. Josephus, the priest and historian, is indiscriminant when he presents names and uses more than one spelling for a name due to the variety of his sources. He is, however, consistent in this case where he spells the name Mariamme. It is a name which priests gave to their daughters, and is not a name which was used by common people. One of the first occurrences of the name is with the sister of Moses and Aaron, and their family was, of course, of the priestly tribe of Levi.

That Mariam was used only among the Levites can be supported by evidence from Josephus and from first century graves. Josephus tells us that Herod the Great married two Mariamme's: (1) Mariamme the daughter of Hrycanus II, who was a Hasmonean High Priest and head of the nation from 76 B.C. to 40 B.C.; (2) Mariamme the daughter of Simeon Boethus who was High Priest from 23 - 6 B.C. The Greek inscriptions at Beth Shearim (138-235 A.D.) show that in every case where Maria or Mariam appears the woman is referred to as either a priestess (daughter or wife of a priest), or addressed as 'Lady', or both.[1] Thus, in all cases Maria is the name of an upper class woman, most certainly of the daughter of a priest. In the Roman catacombs Leon has noted that in nearly all cases Maria is found to be the daughter of a priest or a Gerusiarch, Prostates or Archon. We also see at Rome that the names Maria, Judas, Moses often appear together, whether in Latin or Greek, and this indicates that these are names which most likely run in families. It should be noted that, in two of the nine occurrences of Maria in both Latin and Greek, Maria is called Fabia Mauria in Greek and Flavia Maria in Latin.[2] It is possible that Fabia is equivalent to Phabi and more research should be done on this to determine the family associations.

For example, in the Roman catacombs we have "Here lies Maria, the (wife) of the priest".[3] Note the spelling. At Beth Shearim Maria is spelled Mareia, Mariamene, Mariam. While, at Rome, the form Mariam'me or Mariam never appear either in Latin or Greek. Naomi Cohen, noted expert in the Onomastics of the first century, has observed that leading members of the early Christians in Judaea have Roman names: "the socio-cultural leanings of this family [John Mark's] toward Roman society are reflected by their proper names — i.e., Maria, the romanized form of the name Miriam, and the names of her son who was called by the Roman name Marcus".[4] Leon points out that double names, like John Mark, were used more than three times as often by the Latin speakers as by the Greek speakers. Thus it is possible that John Mark's family understood and used Latin. On the other hand, when a Jewish male bore two names these were usually his given name followed by his tribal association or, in some cases, his father's name if it were well known. Leon concludes:

> Our analysis of the names make it quite apparent that ... the Jews of ancient Rome had gone far toward integration with their pagan neighbors. The preference for good Latin names, the adoption of compound names after the Roman manner, the naming of sons for their fathers while they were still living, even the use of names associated with pagan gods, all indicate an adaptation to the mores of the majority group.[5]

In the Gospels many of the early Christians exhibit all of these characteristics and yet still live in Judaea. This corroborates the evidence for the Romanization of Jesus' family and associates. Reasons for this will soon become clear.

Something can be learned about the infancy narratives in Luke by noting the spelling of Jesus' mother's name. From 1:27-39 Luke has spelled her name as Mariam. However, suddenly in 1:41 he switches to Marias and then in 1:46 he switches right back to Mariam. The place where Mariam changes to Marias is: "And it came to pass as Elishabet heard the salutation of Maria the babe leaped in her womb". Thus if we consider this verse to be a later addition to the earlier tradition what we have is Maria entering into the house of Zacharias and saluting Elishabet with "Blessed are thou among women and blessed the fruit of thy womb".[6] This would be more in keeping with the established social patterns of Judaea where a guest would salute the host or hostess upon entering their house. Onomastics should help NT scholars decide if the change in the spelling of Maria offers any support to the hypothesis that it is Maria who salutes Elishabet.

Evidence for the priestly descent of Maria is also found in the Koran where Jesus' mother is called 'sister/daughter of Aaron'. While Muhammad's Jewish wife, Safiyya (Saphiah, Aphijah) when insulted by one of Muhammad's other wives retorted: "My father was Aaron and my uncle

Moses".[7] Thus Safiyya, as the spelling of her name supports, claimed priestly descent through Aaron, and of course, this meant that she was the daughter of a priest. That her name indicates membership in the Abijah/Phabi High Priestly family is in keeping with the political choice of wives for Muhammad. A ruler in the Near East would try to marry the daughter of the most powerful member of the ruling elite of a prestigeous country. Muhammad's later wives all reflect this objective. In marrying Safiyya, Muhammad would be marrying into the family of the last Zadokite High Priest of Judaea. When the Koran calls Jesus' mother a daughter of Aaron in the same way that it refers to Safiyya we must conclude that in the seventh century A.D. Jesus' mother was known to have been the daughter of a priest.

The Protoevangelium of James makes some very valuable statements about Maria and her family. Most scholars have concluded that due to some discrepancies with what they call actual Jewish ritual and practice, the Protoevangelium is not reliable.[8] However, this section will show that these remembrances do correspond with actual social circumstances. For example, this Gospel records that Maria's parents were Joachim (Joakim) and Anna, and that they were extremely wealthy and had slave girls. Joachim is a priestly name and means 'brothers (achim) of God (Jo)'. Ahijah also means 'brother (Ahi) of God (Jah)' and is another form of the same name. As was noted in the previous Chapter, Levin has shown that Ahijah refers to the same family as Abijah, but was changed due to the debate over its meaning. Thus there is additional evidence that Maria's father Joachim was a member of the priestly division of Abijah/Phabi.

The Protoevangelium tells us that Maria was given to Joseph in her twelfth year. This data fits the requirements for the wife of a priest. A priest, as has been noted, was required to marry or become betrothed to a twelve to twelve and one-half year old virgin. But usually the man did not sleep with his betrothed until she was about sixteen when he took her to his home.[9]

The Protoevangelium also states that Maria was given the task of weaving the purple and scarlet portions of the veils for the Temple. This information about Maria agrees with what we know about the daughters of priests. Both the Talmud and Josephus speak about the veils of the Temple. One of the chiefs (archomenos) of the Temple administration, Eleazar, was appointed to make new veils for the Temple whenever it was necessary.[10] This Eleazar could very well have been the Eleazar ben Boethus who was Maria's maternal uncle.

The veils were twenty cubits wide and forty cubits long, and were hung in no less than thirteen places within the Temple.[11] Each curtain was of seventy-two strands, each with twenty-four threads, and had to be woven in four colors (or six according to the material in the Talmud).[12] Eighty-two virgins, who were the daughters of priests, had to produce two veils each year. Two veils were used at either end of the holy sanctuary: one between it and the porch, and the other between it and the Holy of Holies. They were full length veils made like a tapestry of various materials and colors and were embroidered with a panorama of the heavens. Thus the priests who worked in the priests' court, or stood on the porch, or its steps, looked up into the heavens by looking at the veils. Josephus tells us that the veils were composed of four materials which represented the four elements. The fine linen represented the earth because flax grows out of the earth; the purple signified the sea because that dye is produced by the blood of a sea shell-fish; the blue signified the air; and the scarlet stood for fire. Josephus thus seems to be in accord with Philo's interpretation of the mystical meanings of the Temple and its accouterments. As can be seen, the Protoevangelium in recording that Maria wove the purple and scarlet for the Temple curtains seem to be presenting accurate information since this task was performed by the virgin daughters of priests and purple and scarlet were among the colors used.

Maria's parents are said to have come from Sepphoris which, shortly after Jesus was born, was the capital of Herod Antipas' tetrarchy (4 B.C. - 17/18 A.D.). Early apocryphal Christian writings indicate that Jesus' mother, "Mary the Galilean", was born in Sepphoris.[13] Sepphoris got its name because it was perched on the top of a high hill "like a bird". It was first mentioned by Josephus during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103 - 76 B.C.). Nazareth was located only one to two miles southeast of Sepphoris and thus was essentially part of its territory. The fact that Nazareth was so close to Sepphoris may explain why our first century A.D. sources never mention Nazareth's name.

Sepphoris occupied an economically crucial site as the crossroads of trade from the coast near Tyre and Sidon to the Sea of Galilee and the desert beyond. Gabinius, in his reorganization of the area in 57-55 B.C., made Sepphoris the capital of the tetrarchy and gave it one of the five Sanhedrins in the country. In 44-41 B.C. the city sided with Antigonus Mattathias, the last Hasmonean High Priest-King, but offered no resistance to Herod when he took over. However, in 4 B.C. it resisted the Romans and the city was sacked by Varus during the war which began after Herod the Great's death. Varus sold all its inhabitants as slaves.[14] If the stories of Jesus' family's flight to Egypt are true then it may well be that Maria and Joseph left Sepphoris in 4 B.C. with their two year old son in order to keep from being sold into slavery or murdered.

Sepphoris remained wholly Jewish in spite of Herod Antipas' changes, and large numbers of priests were settled there. A baptismal font built with rock cut steps so that priests might walk down into it has been found. It is documented that a member of Jesus' family, the priest Ishmael ben Jose ben Hal'aphta (Abijah/Phabi) came from Sepphoris.[15] Note that he is known by both his father's name (Jose/Joseph) and his priestly course's name.

Sepphoris was also the name of a district in the Galilee. One could be from the villages of 'Arab or Nazareth and also be from Sepphoris, just as today we can tell our friends that we are from Huntington Beach and/or Orange County. It is possible that Jesus' mother's family had land in Nazareth but lived in Sepphoris as was the custom with upper class members who lived in a large city. As is discussed later in this Chapter, Jesus' father, Joseph ben 'Eli, was also from Sepphoris.

For Maria to call herself 'a maid servant' of God meant that she was God's bond woman. Only the Levite tribe was considered to be God's servants or slaves.[16] This is another piece of evidence which supports the view that Maria was 'a daughter of Aaron'. Though she calls herself God's servant Maria is frequently referred to as a 'harlot' in sections of the Talmud. Though the NT never specifies Maria's tribe (rather significant in view of the emphasis on Jesus' supposed Davidic descent) we do have evidence in Origen and Ephraem the Syrian that she was thought to be a Levite. This corroborates the already noted evidence from the Koran. Origen also cites Celsus' information that Panthera was the father of Jesus. This is also mentioned in the Talmud, and throughout all the sources runs a general charge of the illegitimate birth of Jesus.[17]

One story in the Talmud relates a discussion over who was Jesus' father,

> Was he then ben Stada? Surely he was the son of Pandira. Rabbi Hisda said: 'The husband was Stada; the paramour was Pandira. Was not the husband Pappos ben Judah and his mother, Stada? His mother was Miriam....As they say in Pumbedita, 'This one has been unfaithful (Satat da) to her husband.[18]

Many attempts by both Jewish and Christian scholars to make sense out of this material has led to no agreement, except to write the entire material off as polemical. Some have tried to see Panthera as a distortion of parthenos (virgin). Others have demonstrated that the name Panteras was not uncommon among Roman soldiers and that the assertion that Jesus was the son of a Roman soldier is, therefore, possible. It is not only the Jewish sources which mention the irregularity of Jesus' birth.[19]

It is important to note that even the canonical Gospels record a very early doubt about the legitimacy of Jesus' birth: "They said to him, 'We were not born of fornication' (in other words according to the tone of the Greek — 'We are not the ones who were born of fornication but you were').[20] Rather than toss out this information as inaccurate polemics this work will demonstrate that the opposite is true. The above passage from John is from an early stratum of material and implies that some Jews (probably Hillelite Pharisees) thought that Jesus had been born of fornication. Now we need to ask what exactly was fornication to Jews of the first century A.D. We will need to begin with a review of the marriage customs of that time.

Josephus reports that the priests who lived in Babylonia and Egypt used to send certificates to Jerusalem attesting to the lawfulness of their marriages in order to be kept on the lists of legitimate priests, and to legitimize their offspring.[21] In conjunction with the written lists of the priesthood which were kept in the Temple in Jerusalem it seems likely that all investigations of descent made use of oral testimony. In a later Chapter this will be discussed in relation to Jesus' genealogies.

During Second Temple times, in addition to the oral and written evidence as to a priest's lineage, the importance of taking a wife from one's own family was emphasized. There is evidence which demonstrates that it was considered to be a very pious act if a priest married the daughter of his sister.[22] Often he was pressured into such a marriage. The Talmud discusses endogamous marriage for the priests, and only after 135 A.D. does it begin to occur among some members of the non-priestly classes.

Law and custom distinguished between betrothal, where the husband 'sanctified' his bride and she was from then on considered to be formally married, and the wedding ceremony under the Chuppah (canopy).[23] Not until the second ceremony did the bride move into her husband's home. During the interval between the betrothal and the wedding the young virgin remained in her father's home. The betrothal took place in the home of the bride and was actually the formal act of a property transfer. The groom gave his bride's father money or something else of value, such as land or cattle. Shammai and Hillel differed on the lowest acceptable amount, with the upper class Shammai insisting on the higher amount. Usually a contract was drawn up in which the husband enumerated his responsibilities towards his wife-to-be. Depending on the age of the betrothed couple several years might pass before the marriage. During this time it was customary for the groom-to-be to bring gifts of food to his in-laws when he went to their home for festival meals. He would also bring presents for his betrothed.

It is important to note that marriage practices differed between the Galilee and Judaea. According to the southern (Judaean) custom, prior to marriage the groom was allowed to stay alone with his bride so that he might get to know her and begin to care about her. However, if he did this he could not complain afterwards that his wife was not a virgin, even if he were not responsible. Although the woman was still living in her father's home she was legally bound to the man and had all the duties of a married woman. The betrothal could be cancelled only with his consent and by a deed of divorce.

When the groom brought the bride to live in his house there were no legal changes in her status since she was considered to be legally married on the occasion of her betrothal. The wedding night was important for the Judaeans who were traditionally suspicious about the bride's virginity. They would examine the groom and bride before the wedding to make certain that they could not fabricate the signs of virginal blood. In some places it was customary for one representative from each family to sleep in the wedding house in case of trouble over the bride's virginity. The Galileans on the other hand, were not as concerned about the virginity of the bride and would quietly end the marriage if there was a problem.[24] They also followed the Shammaite rule that divorce was only allowable in case of proven adultery.

The evidence in the _Protoevangelium_, _Toledoth Yeshu_ and the _Talmud_ supports the view that Joseph and Maria were from the Galilee and followed the teachings of Shammai about marriage customs. Thus it is possible that Hillelite Pharisees and other sects might see in the betrothal circumstances of Maria and Joseph reason for calling it 'fornication'. The Talmud demonstrates that this was the case in many situations where a Galilean priest and his offspring might be called illegitimate because their marriage practices differed from those of Judaea.[25] This would explain why Maria is called a 'harlot'. For these other women in similar circumstances; i.e. being pregnant after betrothal, but before the chuppah ceremony, were also called harlots and their husbands were called fornicators. Matthew's genealogy supports this view. The four women he highlights were all called harlots because of some violation of the marriage laws of the majority. Otherwise how can we explain the fact that there are men in the list who were called far more sinful than any of these women, and are not singled out. The point is that despite their marriage irregularities, in other places in the OT these women are called righteous and good.[26]

If the material in the Talmud is accurate we may have a real clue to the answer to the puzzle of Jesus' birth. Panthera, or Pandira, as was noted earlier has been the subject of much discussion. However, no one has noted that 'Penthera' in Greek means 'Mother-in-law', and Pentheros can mean 'Father-in-law', or a general connection by marriage — i.e. 'brother-in-law'.[27] Thus what our sources are telling us is that Jesus was the son of his father's brother (or even of his father's father though this seems unlikely). As is well known, this situation happened when a woman was betrothed or married and her husband died before they could have any children to carry on his name. This situation necessitates the Levirate Law and it declares that the deceased's closest, or eldest, brother must perform intercourse with the widow until they produce an heir.[28] This would explain the claim that Maria was pregnant before Joseph married her since the usual custom was that the levirate waits at least three months to determine if his sister-in-law is pregnant by her dead husband. If Joseph and Maria did not wait this period of time there might be an element of doubt as to who was the father.

This information about Maria's levirate marriage is substantiated by what Jeremias tells us about two High Priestly families who had trouble this way. One of the men involved is listed as Joseph Qabi. Qabi can also be written in Hebrew as Chabi/Phabi. At this point it is good to remember that the Talmud called Maria's husband Pappos ben Judah (Jahudah). Pappos is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew 'Abbas', and Levin has demonstrated that Abbas, Abias, Abijah and Ahijah are all names of the same family, but during varying historical periods.[29] As has been shown Judah is often mistaken for Yehudidiyah (Jedidiah). The NT and other early Christian sources, speak of a Joseph bar Abbas — 'bar' means 'son of' in Aramaic, and is the Galilean term for the Hebrew 'ben'. Thus the Talmud could preserve an accurate tradition about Jesus in that his mother was widowed before he was born, and that his 'so-called' (Luke) father was Joseph bar Abijah (Pappos ben Yehudidiyah) ben Jehudidiah, the brother of Maria's first husband, and Maria's 'Pentheros' (brother-in-law). This is substantiated by the fact that, as noted above, the priestly family of Abijah/Phabi was known to have performed the levirate.[30]

Though the Talmud notes that Maria was the granddaughter of Princes, other sources record what they call 'minor' pieces of information. The Gospel of the Birth of Mary is a Latin infancy Gospel which tells of the birth and life of Maria up to the birth of her son, Jesus. The Gospel relates what it says are things which are held to be 'less worthy' of being narrated. This does NOT mean that they are inaccurate, but that the first Gospel writers did not think that information about Maria before Jesus' birth was crucial enough to be included in their works. Its author notes that Joseph returned to Maria after a three month absence "intending to marry the virgin".[31] But he found her pregnant and suspected fornication. It is interesting to find a Christian writing in Latin so aware of Jewish marriage customs. Could it be that the author was a Jew? For it was required that if the groom died, even before the final marriage ceremony under the chuppah, a Judaean bride had to wait at least three months before performing the levirate to be certain that she was not already pregnant. Thus we see that knowing that a girl had to wait three months is significant of historically correct traditions. Whether it is exactly what happened in Maria's case can be known with no more certainty than can the tradition that Lincoln was born in a certain log cabin, but when many and varied traditions substantiate each other they offer us a pretty good argument for their case. It seems that the confusion over Jesus' birth results from the probability that Maria's first husband (Jesus ben Phabi/Abijah) died before the second marriage ceremony, and his brother, Joseph, performed the levirate for him.

We do have information which substantiates the view that Joseph was Jesus' levirate father. This material is a key to understanding the problems which early Christians and Jews had with Jesus' birth and explains why Maria was considered to be a harlot. One of the two pieces of information (the other is Jesus as the carpenter, or the carpenter's son and will be examined later in this Chapter) which have been used to form the entire argument about Jesus' social origins is that Maria offered a sacrifice according to what the law required: "A pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons".[32]

> And when the days of their purification were fulfilled, according to the Law of Moses, they brought him to Jerusalem to present (him) to the Lord, as it has been written in the Law of the Lord, 'That every male opening a womb shall be called holy to the Lord'. And to offer a sacrifice according to that which has been said in the Law of the Lord, 'A pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons'. (Luke 2:22-24)

Note that it does not say that "they offered these sacrifices", only that "they sacrificed according to the law", and that the editor tells us what that sacrifice is to be. Scholars usually refer to the passage in Leviticus as the law which Luke is citing:

> And when the days of her purification shall have been fulfilled for a son or a daughter, she shall bring a lamb of a year old, without blemish for a whole burnt offering and a young pigeon or turtle dove for a sin offering to the door of the tabernacle of witness, to the priest....And if she cannot afford a lamb, then shall she take two turtle doves or two young pigeons, one for a whole burnt offering and one for a sin offering; and the priest shall make atonement for her, and she shall be purified.[33]

There is an explanation of Maria and Joseph's offering which is supported by evidence within Luke's Gospel itself. It was noted earlier that Luke had hedged when he refers to Joseph and called him Jesus' "so-called" father. Many attempts have been made to explain what Luke meant by this remark. Brown also notes that Matthew and the various manuscripts of his Gospel indicate that he was at some pains to not refer directly to Joseph as Jesus' father, though he is called Maria's husband. When Luke states that "and when were fulfilled the days for THEIR purification according to the law of Moses", Brown says that this is a mistake and serves as evidence that Luke is historically inaccurate.[34] He notes that the law of Moses (Torah) says nothing about the purification of the mother and father, and as a result most scholars have chosen to say that 'their' refers to the purification of Maria and Jesus. But there is no evidence that a new born baby was ever purified in the Temple. A new born child was considered to be sinless.[35] However, there is one occasion when 'their' would fit the circumstances, and it would explain Luke's use of "so-called" in reference to Joseph. When a man had married his sister-in-law (by Yaboom — the levirate) and she proved later to already be pregnant, one of two things happened: (1) if the baby was delivered at full term the marriage had to be dissolved, but if (2) the child was prematurely born the marriage need not be dissolved. In either situation, both the husband and the wife had to bring a sin-offering to the Temple. If it was doubtful whether the child was born from the first husband in the ninth month, or from the levirate in the seventh month, the marriage had to be dissolved but the child was considered legitimate and both the husband and the wife, even though they were dissolving the marriage, had to bring the doubtful trespass-offering (*asham tauli*).[36]

Therefore, we must disagree with Brown and argue that Luke is not mistaken in his saying that both ("the days of *their* purification") purified themselves. It is rather modern scholarship which is at fault. Luke's information has a solid basis in first century Jewish customs, and it seems probable that Luke (or his source) is telling us that Maria's first husband died, and that when Joseph declared that he would fulfill the *Yaboom* with her they waited the prescribed three months. However, Joseph discovered that Maria was pregnant. We can draw two further conclusions: (1) Joseph seems not to have dissolved the marriage and (2) the offering of pigeons or doves was the sin offering, definitely not the trespass offering. Thus the circumstances must have been that Jesus was born prematurely (and therefore could have been Joseph's son). If he had been born at eleven lunar months or more past Maria's husband's death no sin-offering was required at all. Leviticus indicates that the requirement for the sin-offering was one pigeon or turtle dove. Luke tells us that both Joseph and Maria were purified of their sin, and in referring to two birds (whether pigeons or doves — Luke does not seem to know) one for each (Maria and Joseph) he is correctly listing the required sin-offering. He is not historically inaccurate as Brown would have us think. Luke's statements make perfect sense once placed in their proper context — the marriage laws of first century Judaean society.

The sin-offering made atonement for the person of the offender, while the trespass-offering atoned for one special offense only. The trespass-offering was seen as representing ransom for a special wrong while the sin-offering offered general redemption. The offenses for which they atoned were ones which had been committed unintentionally, or through weakness. The animal which was brought for a trespass-offering was to be a male only, and was usually a ram which could never be used as a sin-offering. Thus scholar's arguments about the possible offering of a sheep or goat is inappropriate in Jesus' case. The birds were not offered because Maria and Joseph were poor, but because they were the appropriate sacrifice. Indeed Brown notes "A discussion among several rabbis of a later period seems to assume that birds would be offered".[37] He also notes that the theological arguments of a later Christian (about 408 A.D.) who said that since Jesus was the lamb of God a lamb could not be offered, is not a possibility.

Sin-offerings were divided into two kinds: (1) fixed — which were the same for rich or poor and (2) varying — which were for lepers, for women after childbirth, for concealing a 'thing known', for having unwittingly sworn falsely, for having unwittingly eaten of consecrated food, or for going into the Temple in a state of defilement. Luke by referring to "their purification" can not be referring to Maria and the baby Jesus and must then mean Maria and Joseph. Rather than disallowing Luke's words as inaccurate, as Brown would have us do, we have shown that Luke is correct when he states that both were purified. There is an historical situation which substantiates Luke's words and also explains why Jesus was thought to have been illegitimate, as well as, why Maria was called a harlot. This also explains the remark in John where the Judaeans protest that "we were not born illegitimate. We have but ONE father".[38] The possibility of having more than one father is recognized in the circumstances of Maria, and the fact that Joseph was her levirate husband.

II — JOSEPH

In three separate places in the canonical Gospels Jesus is called "son of Joseph". If the settings of these occasions are accurate we have information which shows that Jesus was known as the son of Joseph in three separate parts of Judaea and Galilee: Bethsaida (John 1:45); Capernaum (John 6:42) and Nazaret (Luke 4:22). In addition, both genealogies refer to Joseph as Jesus' father though Luke hedges with the "so-called" son of Joseph. The apocryphal Christian sources all state that Joseph was Jesus' father. What seems important is that though each successive evangelist sometimes changes locations or Jesus' titles, and many of these changes culminate in John, we see that he preserves the information that Jesus is the son of Joseph and does not alter it. Another piece of information which demonstrates the strength of the view that Jesus was the son of Joseph is the fact that outside of the genealogies he is called the son of Maria in only one place (Mark 6:3) and even there he is also called the son of the carpenter in the better manuscripts.[39]

Most scholars are in agreement that Joseph disappears from the scene rather early in Jesus' life. Most note that after the first Passover in the Temple, which is discussed by Luke, we do not hear of Joseph though Maria and Jesus' brothers are mentioned. When Jesus is called the son of Maria it probably is an indication that his father, Joseph, is dead.[40] This supposition would fit with the historical data regarding Judaea at this time. Joseph ben 'Eli, of the division of Abijah/Phabi substituted as High Priest in 5 B.C. at the feast of Passover for his brother, Mattathias Theophilus. Mattathias was removed from office in 4 B.C. because of his complicity in the 4 B.C. revolt against Rome. The 4 B.C. revolt began with the young priests who removed Herod's eagle from the pediment of the Temple. As a result many priests died. There is a statement in the Protoevangelium that John the Baptist's father died in what has been known as the massacre of the innocents.[41] At this point, therefore, we must ask is there an historical reality behind the massacre.

The event which scholars call "the massacre of the innocents" has almost always been seen as a mythological event. However, there are some echos of factual events in the story. Herod the Great and the visiting Magi (they were Babylonian priests) are located in Jerusalem, and when they inquire about the new King who has been born, Herod sends them to Bethlehem in Judah. The Magi enter a house, not a manger, and there they proskeneou (bow down with their faces on the ground) before Jesus.[42] This was the usual salute to a king or a prince. They then return to Babylonia ("their own country").

An angel, or a messenger of the Lord, appears in a dream and tells Joseph to take Jesus and Maria and flee to Egypt, because Herod is seeking the child. They flee to Egypt by night, and stay there until the death of Herod in 4 B.C. In the meantime, according to the NT, Herod seeks out all the boys aged two years and lower. The Greek *dietoũs* can also mean those who are two years past puberty (about fourteen) and under. *A̓posteílas*, which is usually translated as "having sent" can mean "banish" or "send off"; and *a̓neĩlen*, which is always translated "he put to death", probably means "to take away" or "to gather".[43] Thus what we have is Herod gathering together all the young boys from about fourteen years old and under in the district of Bethlehem. Not just from the city, but from all the borders of the district which includes the city of Jerusalem.

Matthew finishes his story by quoting the OT passage which states that a voice in Ramah was heard lamentating and weeping *and mourning*. Ramah is a hill opposite both Bethlehem and Jerusalem and forms the third point of a triangle with the other two cities. Scholars always note that Matthew is quoting Jeremiah 31:15, however, they fail to recognize the few pertinent changes which Matthew has made.[44] Matthew's statement begins in the same way as the OT, but in the OT we only have lamentation and bitter weeping, there is *no mention of mourning* even though the passage says that the children "are not". The reason for this is that one mourns for the dead, and Rachel's children are not dead. This can be seen if the rest of the section in the OT is read:

> Thus says the Lord:
> Keep your voice from weeping, and your eyes from tears;
> for your work shall be rewarded, says the Lord
> And THEY SHALL COME BACK FROM THE LAND OF THE ENEMY
> There is hope for your future says the Lord
> And YOUR CHILDREN SHALL COME BACK TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.[45]

The reasons why Matthew made use of this passage are unclear if he was trying to draw a comparison with the OT. For the children in the OT are not killed, but are rather taken off into exile, just as Jesus and his family fled to Egypt in exile. Matthew's choice of supporting evidence from the OT is now clear. It is not that all were massacred, but that some have escaped into exile; in Jesus' case to Egypt. NT scholars have often mistranslated and misunderstood the references. What is important here is that "your children shall come back to their own country", and Matthew is probably referring to an historical event in which young and therefore, innocent, boys were murdered by Herod.

There is an event in the last years of Herod the Great which fits this sequence of events quite well. Herod was over seventy years old in 5 B.C. and plagued with troubles in his family due to the struggle over who would succeed him on the throne. At this time there was a seditious rebellion led by two famous teachers and their young students. Josephus says that they were two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and were also celebrated interpreters of the Jewish law. These men, Judas of Sepphoris and Mattathias ben Margalus, were dear to the people because of the way in which they educated the young men of Judaea and Galilee. Many young men came to them for instruction in the laws and to learn about virtuous behavior. In fact, they daily attracted a host of men who had just reached their majority (finished their twelfth year). When these teachers learned that Herod was near to death they encouraged their young students to strike a blow for God and pull down the works in the Temple which had been erected contrary to the laws of their fathers. The teachers assured the young men that they would obtain the reward of Phineas, the priest who had acted zealously for the Lord and was given immortal life, "for those who came to such an end (death in a righteous religious cause) there was a sure hope of immortality and the eternal enjoyment of blessings, whereas the poor-in-spirit (sic) knowing nothing through ignorance clung to life".[46] It is important to note the use of "poor-in-spirit" and its context. Those who are "poor-in-spirit" are those who know nothing about the hope of immortality, and through ignorance cling to life. This should be kept in mind when scholars attempt to analyze the "Sermon on the Mount". Their teachers also stated that, as a result of their actions, they would acquire everlasting fame, commendation by the present generation and leave a never to be forgotten example for posterity:

> **Therefore** it is a correct thing for those who are in love with virtuous conduct to wait for that fatal hour and for such behavior as may carry them out of the world with praise and honor. This will alleviate death because of their brave actions and they will leave a great reputation for their relations to bear whether they be men or women. This will be of great advantage to their families later.[47]

This passage should illuminate the frame of mind and the feelings of the Jews in all their later revolts against the Romans. We have a report that the mourners for those who had cut down the eagle rioted and pelted a tribune in command of a cohort which Archelaus had sent. What we seem to have here is Josephus' reminiscence of what honor did actually befall the relatives of these young men. As can be seen many of the ideas proposed by these teachers agree with the philosophy (or religious sect of Judaism) which Josephus calls "the fourth".[48] Scholars have come to call them the Zealots, or the followers of the family of Hezekiah and Judas of Galilee (Sepphoris). Therefore, we may be able to identify these imitators of Phineas the zealot with Josephus' fourth philosophy.

When a report came in the middle of the day that Herod had died, the young men pulled down a large golden eagle of great value which Herod had erected over Nicanor's gate inside the Temple itself. While the Temple was filled with people, these young men let themselves down from the roof with stout ropes and began to cut down the eagle with axes. It should be noticed that both the Temple police and the priests who were the administrators of the Temple made no objection to what was going on. The same thing happened when Jesus "cleansed the Temple". This leads to the suspicion that the priests and the Levite police tacitly approved of the actions of the young men. Otherwise, the Temple police would have been called out to stop the desecration of the holy place as they were when Paul started a riot in the Temple. However, an officer of the King heard the news and quickly raced to the spot with a great band of soldiers. From the news, the officer had expected a great rebellion and was not prepared for the more modest effort of returning the Temple to a purer state. The King's soldiers unexpectedly fell upon the young men and were able to capture about forty of them. They also took Judas and Mattathias prisoner since they thought it ignoble to run away. According to Josephus these boys had the courage to stay while the others ran away. They were led to Herod who asked them if they had dared to cut down the golden eagle which he, their King, had dedicated. They answered that they had and stated:

> we have given our assistance to those things which were dedicated to the majesty of God [does this mean that they were priests] and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law. It ought not to be wondered at if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested to him and taught him by God more worthy than thy [Herod's] commands. Accordingly we will undergo death and all sorts of punishments which you can inflict on us with pleasure since we know that we shall die not for any unrighteous actions but for our love of our religion. This they all courageously agreed to. The king ordered them to be bound and sent them to Jericho. He then called together the principal men among the Jews. He made them assemble in the theater and because he could not stand up he lay upon a couch and listed the many labors he had long endured on their account, that it was he who had built the Temple [if this is a labor on their account it supports the view that they were priests] and what a vast charge that had been for him. While the Hasmoneans during the hundred and twenty-five years of the government had not been able to perform any such great labor for the honor of God. He had also adorned the Temple with valuable donations because he hoped that he had left himself a great memorial and a favorable reputation which would last after his death. He then cried out that these teachers had insulted him in broad daylight in front of many people and had abused what he had dedicated to God. They pretend that they did it to affront Herod but in truth it was sacrilege against God.[49]

Herod had found a way to make a personal affront into a religious sacrilege. He attacked them as Temple robbers and demanded their punishment for that crime. The councellors (the "principal men"), who were afraid of Herod's barbarous temper and feared for their own lives, stated that what had been done had been done without their approval and it seemed correct that the perpetrators should be punished. We must ask why it was important for them to reply that what had been done was without their approval. Why would the impulsive act of some young students and their teachers have the possibility of being approved by "the principal men" among the Jews. When this is put next to the information that they were zealots, and the Temple police did not move against them, it is most probable that the teachers and their students were priests. And as such they had a right to purify the Temple courts.

The King agreed that the prisoners should be punished. He had Judas and Mattathias, and those who had lowered themselves from the roof, burnt alive and the rest of the forty he handed over to his soldiers for execution (probably crucifixion). Being burnt alive was a special punishment. It was reserved for priests and their families in cases where they had violated the regulations of the priestly class. During the first century A.D., for example, a priest's daughter who had committed adultery was burned alive. Non-priestly adulterers were stoned to death. It should be noted that of the young men, only those who had dared to lower themselves from the roof of the Temple had to pay for their sacrilege against God by being burned alive. The others were executed by Herod's soldiers. They were most likely either crucified or decapitated — the punishment for the upper classes in the Middle East.[50] There was great mourning in the land for the innocent "children" (the students) whom Herod her murdered. Because of this event, and probably because of his seeming concurrence in the action of the students, Herod removed Mattathias Theophilus from the High Priesthood and appointed in his place Mattathias' brother-in-law, Joezar Boethus. We do not know if Jesus' father was involved in the incident, however, his brother for whom he had substituted as High Priest, was deposed and other men from Sepphoris were burned alive.[51] As a result it may well have been that Joseph took Maria and Jesus to Egypt where he sought refuge with the remainder of the Abijah/Phabi family in Egypt at Tel Yedidiah. Note that if Joseph had other children, as is supposed by some scholars, they are never mentioned as being taken with them to Egypt.

The tradition of fleeing to Egypt for political refuge is well documented. In 67 B.C. when Hyrcanus II defeated Aristobulus II many priests fled to safety in Egypt. And after the victory of Cestius Gallus in 66 A.D. priests and nobles again fled to Egypt. Abtalyon, a priest and a contemporary of Shammai, tells of his teachers who fled to Alexandria during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. Many scholars suspect that this event really took place during the Herodian persecutions since Shammai is thought to have flourished from 50 B.C. to 20 B.C.[52] Thus it seems possible with all these events of 6-4 B.C. that Joseph, as an upper class priest and a resident of Sepphoris which was destroyed in 4 B.C. may have had to flee to Egypt for his family's safety. If it was in direct response to the slaughter of the young students and their teachers, and to the deposition of his brother as High Priest, we can see how the events were transformed by Matthew into our NT story.

One of the best known facts about Jesus' father, Joseph, is that he was called 'the carpenter'. Almost by itself alone this piece of evidence has been used to build up entire theories about Jesus' social origins as a member of the artisan class.[53] However, there are other explanations for this reference. The first question which might be asked is how can a priest also be a carpenter? And secondly, why would anyone use that appellation? If we evaluate the Gospels in terms of the first century A.D. can we assume that being called 'a carpenter's son' (or even the carpenter) is a sign of humble origins. There are two pieces of evidence from the first century which are never used to provide information, or enlightenment, for the question of what is meant by "son of the carpenter". The first, is that when Herod reconstructed the Second Temple he did it by training priests as carpenters and stonemasons:

> [Herod] got ready a thousand wagons, that were to bring stones for the building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skillful workmen, and brought a thousand sacerdotal garments for the priests, and had some of them taught the arts of stonecutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build.[54]

The reason that priests had to be trained as carpenters and stonecutters is that only holy hands could build the inner Temple (sanctuary). So it is possible that Joseph could be both a priest and a carpenter.

The Greek word used in the NT, téktōn, can mean any skilled craftsman from a builder to an architect to a shipbuilder. In Matthew, Jesus is referred to as "the son of the carpenter". It is important to know, however, that within the Judaean first century milieu men were not usually called by their own, or their father's profession. As has been noted a Jewish man was referred to by his given name, his father's name (sometimes his grandfather's name), and his tribe. To call a man, 'carpenter' would be in the same sense as calling him 'cohen' or 'archeomenos' or 'gerusiarch'. In the epitaths from Rome and Beth Shearim there are no instances of a man being known by his profession even when he possesses a Greek or Latin name.[55] In the large necropolis at Beth Shearim, Schwabe found what he claimed were seven instances where a man's profession was indicated on his inscription. However, in all but three of those cases the men can be shown to have been priests whose family probably held the comparable professional office in the Temple. For example, the banker from Palmyra is probably a descendant of the Temple treasurers. And two others can be shown to have been descended from those who were in charge (chief) of the Baptism ritual in the Temple. Thus to call Jesus 'the son of the carpenter' and mean his occupation as an artisan, even in his "own country" (Matthew's and Mark's term) would be very unusual within the context of first century Judaea and Galilee.

I would like to suggest a more likely explanation for the origin of the epithet 'carpenter'. As has been noted in an earlier Chapter, Shammai was referred to as a carpenter. Is there any explanation for this epithet other than the story about his repulsing a proselytite with his carpenter's cubit? Shammai was the head of the Ishmael ben Abijah/Phabi family and our records indicate that the family was directly involved in the daily operations of the Temple. A list of the Temple officers has been preserved and Jeremias dates it to the 50s or 60s A.D.[56] This would fit with the data about the family which held the Highpriesthood from about 55 to 61 A.D. Ahijah/Abijah was in charge of the drink offerings. Which means that a petitioner gave the priest a receipt, and the corresponding drink offering was given to him. This took place in the sacred part of the Temple and had to be performed by priests. Mattathias ben Ishmael was in charge of the lots. This refers to the casting of lots for the daily priestly duties. He was also responsible for the direction and supervision of the whole ceremony of the daily, morning and evening, sacrifices. This is explained further in a later Chapter. Ben Ahijah/Abijah was the Temple physician (literally, the Hebrew means 'he who is set over the bowel sickness'). The unusually rich meat diet which the priests ate as a result of the sacrifices, and the fact that the priests could not have wine when they were serving in the Temple caused them to frequently contract bowel sickness.[57]

UMI

Finally, it should be noted that Ben Bebai (Babaja, B'Abbas) was the jailer. He was responsible for the scorging (chastising) of the priests who sought to gain an advantage at the casting of the lots, or who were sentenced to lashings according to the rulings of the Priests' Court. As can be seen, many members of the family of Ishmael (Elisha) of the division of Abijah/Phabi were involved in the daily running of the Temple during the time of Ishmael ben Phabi's Highpriesthood.

Thus, this is an explanation of the use of 'the carpenter' which offers further support to the theory that Jesus and Joseph were priests. The men (families) who made the incense, shewbread, and guarded the aftergrowths in the Seventh (Sabbatical) year, as well as, the men who were listed above were also priests. As noted téktōn has many meanings. The men who performed the above services for the Temple were called 'craftsmen' and we have evidence for this at Giv 'at Ha Mivtar which is just outside the walls of old Jerusalem. There, a tomb which had been carved out of the rock, contained the sarcophagus of a man whom the epitaph indicated was 'Simeon the builder of the Temple'. In this case builder was written in Hebrew as banah and corresponds to the Greek téktōn.[58] Thus it is possible that Jesus' being called the carpenter refers to his family's position in the Temple administration.

This is supported by the fact that it was Abijah/Phabi which supplied the Temple physicians. A Talmudic passage begins with the story that ben Dama (Jesus ben Dama was High Priest from 62 - 65 A.D.), the son of Ishmael's sister, was bitten by a snake and Jacob (James) of the village of Skhania came to heal him with (by using) the name of Jesus, but Rabbi Ishmael (ben Dama's brother, not his maternal uncle) forbade him to treat ben Dama. The patient said to him: "Ishmael, my brother, let him cure me and I will bring you evidence from the Scripture that such is allowed" (he could not quote the passage). But before he finished looking his soul departed, and Rabbi Ishmael exclaimed: "Well is to thee, ben Dama, that thy body was pure and thy soul left thee in purity, and thou has not transgressed the decision of thy colleagues who say: 'Him who breaketh down a fence (transgress an oral ruling) a serpent will bite him (he will die)".[59] The passage then relates an event in which the same Jacob (James) the Min (Minim was the name used to indicate a heretic, for literally it means 'of the various kinds' and means the various kinds of belief within Judaism — it was not used for pagans) and his companion Rabbi Abijah, a well known physician, prepared a medicine to be used on the shoulder of a fellow physician. It also states that Abijah was very much respected by the Roman government.

Here we have evidence which shows that members of Ishmael ben Abijah/Phabi's family had favorable relations with the early Christians. Why would James come to ben Dama's rescue, since he was a member of the High Priestly elite which had just captured and executed James, the brother of Jesus. The second passage is even more important for it established the close companionship of James and a Rabbi of the priestly House of Abijah/Phabi. It also establishes the fact that the priestly House of Abijah/Phabi had well known physicians. "Fellow physician" seems to include James and thus we know that some of the early Christians in Judaea and Galilee were physicians as Luke is said to have been.

If the family of Abijah/Phabi were physicians it would explain the passage where the seven sons of Ishmael (Skeua) ben Phabi are treating sickness in Jesus' name in Ephesus. It would also shed light on the following statements:

> But Jesus, having heard, said to them 'Not need have they who are strong of a physician, but they who are ill. (Matthew 9:12; Mark 2:17) And a certain woman had a flux of blood for twelve years and having suffered much under many benefited, but rather becoming worse, having heard concerning Jesus, Having come in the crowd behind as [opposed to the crowd in front of him] as he walked touched his garment. (Mark 5:25-27)
> And he said to them, Surely you will say to me this parable, Physician, heal thyself. Whatsoever we have heard being done in Capernaum do also here in thine own country. (Luke 4:23)
> And when the sun had entirely disappeared as many as had persons sick with various diseases brought them to him. (Luke 4:40)

Thus I suggest that what we have in Jesus and Joseph and Elisha (Shammai) being called tékt̄on is the recognition of their membership in the Abijah/Phabi family of Temple physicians. The material in the Talmud which cites a certain Rabbi Abijah who was a well known physician and a companion of Jacob (James) the Minim (early Christian) strongly supports this view. It is a historical fact that men were not known by their professions, except in the case of the Temple priests who were in charge of the Temple services. These men were known as the 'craftsmen' which is one of the meanings of the Greek word tékt̄on. Jesus, as a member of the Abijah/Phabi division, could have been a physician and many of his acts of healing real physical treatments (perhaps no less a miracle). At least we must hereafter, analyze the miracle healings as possible historical events and not ignore them as purely mythical. Some of these healings will be discussed in a later Chapter.

Beside being referred to as 'the carpenter' Joseph is called dikaios and, as in the other cases cited in an earlier Chapter, this can mean "the Just". This would fit the pattern of other priests of the clan of Jedidiah who are called "the Just". It also corresponds to an epithet which his son, James, bears. As has been shown "the Just" can mean that a man was from the priestly lineage of Zadok and this is supported by Matthew's genealogy.[60] It would also explain why Joseph is called 'a son of David' when he is a priest. Jedidiah is from the same root as David and can be mistaken for it. Thus it is possible that the few references to 'son of David' are a misreading of Jedidiah. It is also possible that priests could be from the tribe of David (Judah) as is seen in the following:

> As their officers he appointed Amasias (Amaryahu, Amarias, which is the same name as Boethus) the priest and Zabadias (Zebedee, Zabad) both from the tribe of Judah.[61]

This is a quote from Josephus and must have been a commonly held belief in his time; that priests could be members of the family of Judah. This probably reflects the constant intermarriage between the upper echelons of the priests and the daughters of the Judaean kings.

In addition to a possible misreading of dikaios are scholars misinterpreting the meaning of agapos when it occurs right after a man's name? Can it really mean something other than 'beloved'; for example, what is 'beloved' in Hebrew? One answer is 'Jedidiah' and this is also, as has been noted, the name of the priestly clan to which the family of Abijah/Phabi belonged. If so, then Luke the Physician, who knows so much about the Temple and the priesthood and who writes such elegant Greek, could be recognized not as a pagan convert to Judaism, but as a member of Jesus' extended family-clan. The name Leukios was used by Jews in the first century A.D.[62] This possibility is supported by Romans 16 where Paul states:

> Salute Andronicus (Andrew), Junias (Yannias, John) who are my kinsmen and my fellow prisoners who are of note (e̓písēmoi) among the Apostles, who, before me, were in Christ. (Romans 16:7)

"Are my kinsmen" (syggeneĩs mou) — the same term as used by Luke to indicate the blood relationship between Maria and Elishabet is used here.[63] In the same passage Herodiona is also called "my kinsman". Could this be the same Herod who answered the door when Peter knocked at John Mark's house? He also refers to a Lucius (Lukios) who is "his kinsman".[64] Could this refer to Luke the Physician and Evangelist?

In this context it is important to note that Apphia (Phabi) is listed as being called 'the beloved'. In this case the dative of possession is used rather than the accusative (tē̃ a̓gapētē̃) which means that he is 'of the beloved', or 'of the clan of Jedidiah'.[65] In a passage from Colossians Luke is also called 'ho a̓gapētós' or 'the beloved'. Scholars have tried to ignore Paul's use of kinsman in these passages. But when it is added to the already presented evidence, it supports the view that Jesus was teaching the apostles and disciples as the head of their Father's House. And that he chose twelve of them to serve in the various Temple offices during their division's duty week. Thus all of the disciples would be members of Jesus' priestly family and this would explain the overworked use of 'beloved' by Paul in his letters. For he would be identifying them by their priestly clan much as we might identify someone by his last name. It should be recalled in this context that John 'the beloved disciple' was said to have been High Priest.[66] Most scholars have had to write this statement off as polemics or myth. However, if 'beloved' really refers to Jedidiah then it would make sense if what was meant was that he was John ben Jedidiah

(Theophilus) who was High Priest in 37 A.D.

Joseph as a member of the priestly clan of Jedidiah and a High Priest could have owned considerable property. When the census takes place in Matthew he states that Maria and Joseph journey to Bethlehem in the hill country around Jerusalem. In the first century most of the land of the hill country around Jerusalem was owned by priests.[67] Ordinarily it would seem peculiar that Joseph would take Maria with him when she was so far along in her pregnancy. For when a man registered for the tax collector he did not have to have his family with him unless he was a priest, and then he was enrolled along with his wife and children because of inheritance problems. The census was for purposes of taxing property and was not a head tax, as Josephus indicates when he states "When Cyrenius came to take account of the Estates of the Jews".[68] Therefore, it would be hard to see why a poor carpenter from the Galilee travelled all the way to Southern Judaea with his pregnant wife. Joseph could have registered without her since this was not a poll tax. Joseph must have been financially secure since he owned property in, or around, Bethlehem. And it is possible that as a member of the same family, Maria also had land around Bethlehem. Derrett has noted that:

> It must be remembered that according to Luke Joseph's domicle was in Nazareth, which was in the territory of Antipas, and he was not therefore personally liable to the poll-tax unless ownership of property in Judaea could conceivably be construed as requiring assessment. By treaty between Rome and Antipas it was possible for the residents in the territory of the latter to be extradited to meet charges arising out of revenue demands made on behalf of the former. ("Further Light on the Narratives of the Nativity" in Novum Testamentum, 1975)

As can be seen Matthew's record of the census journey does not support

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the traditional idea that Maria and Joseph were members of the working class.

Other considerations corroborate this. If Joseph was a poor carpenter why would he fear Archaelus so much that he went to live in the Galilee at Capernaum? The fact that Joseph is connected with Capernaum by John is important for it ties in with information presented by Luke's genealogy. Luke tells us that Jesus is descended from David through his son Nathan. Capernaum is Kefar Nahum in Hebrew and translates as 'the city of Nathan'.[69] Joseph could not return to Sepphoris since its inhabitants had been sold into slavery and Herod Antipas had not yet begun to rebuild the town. Joseph ben 'Eli -sha of Abijah/ Phabi did have something to fear from Archaelus. His wife's mother's family, the Boethids, had been intimately involved in the struggle for the throne after Herod the Great's death. Even before Herod died the Boethids were suspected by Herod of helping Antipater (his eldest son) in a plot against Herod's life.[70] Poison had been obtained from Egypt through a friend of Antipater, a certain Antiphilus. Antiphilus gave the poison to Theudas, brother of Antipater's mother, Doris. Theudas gave the poison to Pheroras, the brother of Herod the Great, who gave it to his wife for safekeeping. It had been agreed between Pheroras and Antipater that when Antipater was out of the country in Rome the poison should be given to Herod so as to cause no suspicion to fall on Antipater. This was because Herod had made Antipater his heir with Herod Boethus next in line. The poison had been prepared in Egypt by the brother of Antiphilus who was a physician in Alexandria. Mariamme II, a daughter of Simon Boethus the High Priest was married to Herod.

The Boethids were suspected too and Mariamme's brothers, probably Joezar and Eleazar, were tortured by Herod and declared that their sister was aware of the plot and had concealed the fact from Herod.

In revenge Herod blotted Herod Boethus (his son by Mariamme II) out of his will, banished Mariamme from the palace and divorced her. He also took the Highpriesthood away from her father, and gave it to Mattathias ben Theophilus, who was born in Jerusalem. Mattathias was married to Martha Boethus, the sister of Mariamme II, but he was a member of the Abijah/Phabi family. Thus Herod had semi-legitimately transferred the Highpriesthood while thoroughly punishing the Boethids.

It is the thesis of this work that Maria, Jesus' mother, was the daughter of Mattathias Theophilus. Though the Protoevangelium of James called him Joachim, we have shown that Joachim is the same name as Abijah/Phabi. Mattathias Theophilus was the brother of Joseph ben 'Eli -sha who was married to Maria, his niece and the daughter of his brother. This is supported by the fact that when Jesus died he left his mother to 'the beloved' disciple (agape = Jedidiah = Theophilus) who was probably called Johanan. Johanan was likely Maria's father's brother and now head of her father's estate. This was due to the fact that her father probably died in the slaughter of the innocents which also took the life of Joseph's and Mattathias' brother, Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist.

Josephus tells us that Theophilus is an epithet of the House of Onias who were the High Priests before the Maccabees took over ca. 167 B.C. They lived in exile in Egypt until Herod brought back their family which was then known by the name Boethus. Josephus, the

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historian, also notes that Onias was called a 'just' man (Zadokite) and 'beloved of God' (Theophilus/Jedidiah).[71] The similarity with Jesus' family can not be ignored. One of the ancestors of the Oniads is known as Simon 'the Just' (Zadok) by scholars. He is said to have so impressed Alexander the Great that Alexander left the Jews alone. In Jesus' time we have a High Priest who is called 'Eli-Onias and is more than likely the son of the union of the two priestly houses of 'Eli (Abijah/Phabi) and Onias (Boethus). He was High Priest from an unknown time to about 44 A.D. The reason that Joseph did not return to Judaea was because he was afraid of Archelaus who most certainly was concerned about the power of the Boethid-Phabi alliance. Not only were the Boethids connected to the Highpriesthood, but they were also descended by marriage to Herod the Great. And as Boethids they had an earlier claim to the throne than that of Archelaus. Joseph and his family fled to Egypt in response to the slaughter of the teachers and their young students. When time came to return, after the death of Herod, the subsequent struggle over his throne, Joseph was afraid to return to Judaea where Archelaus now held sway. So he returned to the Galilee where he had to settle at Capernaum since Sepphoris had been destroyed.

Finally, in dealing with Jesus' father we have the statement in John:

> Answered therefore the Judaeans and said to him 'Is it not well said that you are a Samaritan, and you have a demon (Samael). (8:48)

Note that the angel of death, the evil Prince of Demons was called Samael and is very close to Samuel, Ishmael. Perhaps this is a case of scribal error. For kalōs here it is more proper to use the adverbial reply indicated in Liddell and Scott,

> in answers, to approve the words of the former speaker, well said! Lat. euge, Eur., Dem.: ___ but, also to decline an offer courteously or ironically....[72]

This is the only meaning which truly fits the situation for John has specifically said "Answered therefore the Judaeans and said". As Liddell and Scott point out this is kalōs' usual meaning when used in an answering reply. We need to ask why would it be "well said" that Jesus was a Samaritan? In the middle of the second century B.C., the Samaritans were in conflict with some of the followers of the earlier Hasmoneans. This was due to their belief in what they called the literal interpretation of the Torah and their rejection of oral law. The Hasmonean, John Hyrcanus, persecuted them and eventually destroyed their Temple, devastated their city and forced them to act according to the rules of the Pharisees. Later, however, the opposition forces of Mattathias Antigonus (44 - 41 B.C.) and even Herod and Mariamme I found support for their attempts to gain control of the government in Samaria.[73]

Shammai was sometimes viewed as a Samaritan due to his preference for the literal interpretation of the text and his scepticism about the oral law. It is also true that when a priest was accused by the council of eating unclean food or violating the Sabbath or committing any other such sin, he would flee to the Samaritans (Josephus calls them Shechemites after the town's name) saying that he had been unjustly expelled. Thus Samaria was seen as full of rebels, both religious and political. When Jesus is called a Samaritan it is with this sense in mind, for when he replies he says "you dishonor me".[74] He must have thought that being called a Samaritan was a dishonorable thing too; otherwise he could have replied "I am a man from Galilee, but I love all mankind, including the Samaritans". Rather what is being said about Jesus, and what he objects to so strongly, is that he is not a 'good' Jew because he disagrees with the dominant views of the Pharisees. Like Elisha ben Abijah/Phabi who was excommunicated Jesus was considered to be an apostate and as bad as a Samaritan. Jeremias notes that "The Samaritans... were regarded 'as Israelites wherever their behavior corresponded with the ideas of Pharisaic religious legislation' and only on other points were they treated as non-Israelites." (p. 354) Thus it can be seen that, here too, being called a Samaritan means that Jesus must have disagreed with the Hillelite Pharisees on some topic(s) and that they were calling him a heretic. When Jesus states that he honors his father he is not referring to his biological father, but to his teacher and the head of his Father's House (they could be the same man). For to call Jesus a Samaritan was to call his teacher a Samaritan too, as one who taught illegal, or untrue, doctrines. Jesus replies that he honors his teacher which means that he saw his Shammaite doctrines as the proper interpretation.

Jesus had a unique relationship to God since as a priest he was considered to be God's servant or slave.[75] This requires explanation here, since it is pertinent to our thesis that Jesus was a priest. Goodenough has magnificently explained how Philo was a representative of an upper class Hellenized Judaism, "So Philo could at once be a loyal Jew and at the same time abandon the very foundations of what Professor Moore taught us to call 'normative Judaism'. There is no reason to think Philo was alone in doing so".[76] Goodenough notes that Jews in the Diaspora, and particularly in Egypt, came under the considerable influence of others in the area of mystic thought. For example, as early as in the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon (ca. first century B.C.) which was very popular in Judaea, it was stated:

> Upon his long high-priestly robe the whole world was pictured,
> And the glories of the fathers were upon the graving of the four
> rows of the previous stones
> And thy (God's) majesty was upon the diadem of his head.[77]

This and other records show that, long before Philo, Jews had been influenced by mystical ideas. Goodenough cites Josephus and his presentation of what he (Goodenough) calls the "Mystery of Aaron". The material in Philo suggests that the cosmic interpretation of the Temple cultus was a familiar one in Judaea during the first century A.D. Philo also indicates that he is a Shammaite Pharisee, or at least a Sadducee, because he states that when the High Priest enters the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement he should be enveloped with the smoke of the incense so that he can see nothing while he is there. This is not the view of the Hillelite Pharisees who say that the incense must be initiated inside the Holy of Holies. Further explanation of this point and its pertinence to Jesus is discussed in a later Chapter.

Philo, in De Vita Mosis and Exposition was writing for gentiles who were interested in becoming Jews but who did not want to be circumcised or keep the kosher laws.[78] According to Philo gentiles do not need to fulfill the letter of the law to attain salvation. Goodenough feels that this is because Philo himself had moved beyond the letter of the Jewish law to "philosophic (ethical) Judaism. True understanding of the Torah, by allegory had revealed to Philo the higher experience".[79] It is crucial here to remember that this is, at least, thirty years before Paul. In both of his works Philo presents the High Priest as the Logos, in the same terms that John uses in relationship to Jesus in his Gospel. Philo also states that as the representative of God the High Priest, as Logos, had to have "indestructible and most pure parents, God as his Father, who is also the Father of all things, and Sophia for his mother, through whom all things were born".[80] Philo explains that it is in putting on the High Priestly robes that the man who puts them on becomes the Logos. The High Priest is able to enter into conversation with the holy 'doctrines' only once a year on the Day of Atonement even though he always dwells among them. Thus the Logos of heaven (the cosmic logos) becomes a material logos when the High Priest puts on his robes. "The Logos in the material world is itself the truth, and at the same time, as it clothes itself in matter, is a magnificent manifestation of the truth to men".[81] We can see in this definition of the Logos in the material world, the similarity to the Gospel of John and to later interpretations of the significance of Jesus. On the High Holy Days the High Priests puts on a diadem, or cidaris, which has the name of God (YHWH) on it and this too changes his nature into something which places him closer to God and able to intercede between man and God. This diadem makes him superior to all earthly kings. In Quaestiones in Exodum Philo states that Aaron and his sons (the ancestors of the High Priests of the first century) were initiated into the divine mystery and as a result the High Priests have become greater kings than the earthly kings. We should note here Jesus' remark "My kingdom is not of this earth".[82] This view is also held by Philo who says that as the representative of the Logos the High Priest is the hegemon of the universe. The Jewish High Priest is different from the chief priests of other religions in that he is a mediator for all mankind and even for the universe itself. This view stresses the cosmic, universal nature of post exilic Judaism.

Philo notes that the priest must drink no wine, must be physically perfect, must marry a virgin of a priestly family, and must limit his time of mourning because:

> he shares in a nature greater than human and . . . to tell the truth, (he must) be a creature bordering upon both natures that men may appease God through some mediator, and that God may have some underservant to use in abundantly stretching out His favors to men.[83]

Philo's statement that this extra-special holiness applies only while the High Priest is exercising his office shows that he is referring to the actual practice in his day and not to some perfect idealized High Priest who was to come. For if it were the ideal High Priest he was referring to, Philo would have followed the rules outlined in the Torah where, for example, the High Priest was to hold office for his lifetime. Only after the Romans and Herod took over the government of Judaea did the High Priests serve in office for less than life terms.

We must seriously consider that not only the evangelists, but Jesus and his associates were influenced by, if not representative of, this view of the Logos. John begins by stating Philo's view that the Logos can become flesh (manifest itself in the material world). Philo tells us that this happens to the High Priest when he puts on the holy garments in preparation to entering the Holy of Holies. In addition to the material which points to the High Priest as the Logos De Fuga et

Inventione indicates that Philo and others, thought of the High Priest in his Logos role as God's son (God as his Father): "use as a paraclete His Son (the High Priest) who is perfect in virtue to secure remission of sins".[84] Thus we have within the boundaries of Judaism in the first century the ideas that the High Priest was the Son of God and acted as such when he entered the Holy of Holies. We can thus explain many of the varied names of Jesus as those which would normally be given to the High Priest in fulfillment of his office.

As is well known the High Priest changed from his glorious gold and many colored priestly robes to a pure luminous white linen one when he served in the Holy of Holies. Goodenough in his By Light, Light demonstrates that the Jews of the Diaspora, and especially Egypt, long before Jesus and Christianity had already constructed and put into use the ideas which many scholars claim are the basis for the separation of early Christianity from Judaism. NT scholars must re-evaluate this assumption. Even though there is substantial historical evidence that at least most of Jesus' ideas and proclamations (i.e. on divorce) were already part of a pre-existing segment of the Jewish religion, this has been ignored by NT scholars. They have continued to claim that Jesus' religious views comprise new decisions. A closer look at Philo, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and above all, the rules and beliefs of the priestly class, clearly shows that Jesus was not breaking new ground, but was, rather, trying to reverse some of the liberal advances of the Hillelite Pharisees. Jesus wanted all Israel to return to a more literal (Shammaite) interpretation of the Torah and worship accordingly.

III — JAMES

The last member of Jesus' family to be examined in this Chapter is James. James was the second son out of the five born to Maria. This is substantiated by the fact that James took over as head of the faction after Jesus' death. The possible accuracy of the names of Jesus' father and brothers is supported by onomastical evidence. If Jesus' father's name was Joseph then the fact that one of his sons was also named Joseph (Joses) supports the historicity of the record. Even the fact that the son is called by the diminuative of the name (Joses), a common way of differentiating father from son, demonstrates its authenticity. Although artisans and lower class peasants, from what little evidence we have, did not name their children after themselves we know that upper class Jews often did so.[85] Leon has demonstrated that in the majority of cases where a son was named for his father it was because the family was from the upper class: officials and/or priests. The other cases were due to levirate or posthumous births.

Further indication of the Hellenization of the family is the spelling of their names. The Semitic spelling of James is Iakob (Iachob) while the Hellenized transliteration of the name is Iakobos. In the Gospels James (Jacob) is spelled Iakobos. On the other hand, Judah is transliterated in the usual Semitic manner as Joudas (with the genitive form of Jouda). Joses is the diminutive form of endearment with an uncommon s attached to the end. Simon is the Hellenized form of the Hebrew name Shimeon (Shimon), and it was a very popular name in the first century A.D. Cohen has demonstrated that this popularity may have been due to the similarity of Simon with a Greek name and therefore was desirable for Hellenized Jews who wished their children to function in the pagan world and yet have a Jewish name. Thus Jesus' brothers bore very popular names. In fact, the first Maccabees, who were also priests, were called by the same names: Judas, Joseph, John and Simon.[86] However, two of Jesus' brothers' names are used in their Hellenized form and are a further indication of the upper class status of the family.

Some have tried to make a case that James is Jesus' elder half-brother as Joseph's son, but not Maria's. But two things which are never discussed make this argument highly unlikely. First, if James was Jesus' elder brother he would have been more than seventy-one when he died (following the established view that Jesus was born before Herod the Great died in 4 B.C. and that James died in 62 A.D.).[87] At over seventy he would hardly be a threat to Annas' superiority, especially since James' brothers Judas, Simon and Joses were also supposedly born before Jesus. Thus the claim that James and the rest of Jesus' brothers are really his half-brothers can not be supported. As Jesus' younger brother the threat to the House of Annas would be more likely. If James died by stoning, at the command of Annas, it seems very unlikely that a man of his age could have survived the first step of stoning, which is to be thrown down from a height equal to that of three men standing on each other's shoulders. The bones of a man of seventy-one would most certainly have shattered. If the story about James is true then we must believe that he was younger than seventy-one and also younger than Jesus.

Hegesippus, as quoted by Eusebius, relates other traditions about

James all of which clearly indicate that James was a priest. It is stated that James was 'holy from his mother's womb'.[88] We have already shown that Jesus is probably the older brother of James. Since James was not the first born son, this remark (being holy from his mother's womb) can only be made about him because all priests are said to be holy from their mother's womb and are dedicated to God's service.[89] It is also said that he did not drink wine or strong drink. A priest could not drink wine during the week that he was engaged in Temple service. A priest could not drink wine while serving, either by night or day; while other priests of the course who were not on duty until other days of the week, were able to have wine at night.[90] Hegesippus also states that no razor touched James' head, that he did not anoint himself with oil, and that he did not frequent the baths. Now we can not automatically assume that any holy Jew would refrain from bathing himself since the Law urged cleanliness. Rather, what we have here are things which a priest did not do during the week that he served in the Temple even though he was able to do these things the rest of the year. It was required that a priest come up to Jerusalem properly trimmed, washed and attired in preparation for his service.

Hegesippus also states that James wore nothing of wool, but only linen and as is well known, only priests wore linen clothes and this, again, while they served in the Temple. A non-priestly man usually wore a wool outer cloak part of the year.[91] The Talmud notes that a king must cut his hair everyday, a high priest every eve of the Sabbath, and a common priest every thirty days. They were required not to shave it close nor grow it long, but only to crop the hair on their heads; this

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included their beards.[92] Again, Hegesippus' comments about James strongly support the view that he was a priest.

Coleman, in his work on James, believes that Alphaeus, James the younger and James the brother of the Lord are all the same person.[93] It is possible to demonstrate that Alphaeus is the same name as Abijah/Phabi, but it is uncertain whether the three are identical because there could have been more than one James Abijah/Phabi. It should be remembered from earlier Chapters that _Al_ is Aramaic for the Hebrew _Ha_, and thus for _Al Phaeus_ we have Ha _Phaeus_. _eus_ is the same as any of the other endings which represent God (_ias, iel, Jah_) and the _ph_ can be replaced in Hebrew with _b_. As a result we have a variant spelling of Abijah/Phabi. That this is indeed the case is indicated in the Syriac editions of our canonaical Gospels where the name is written 'al Phai.[94] An inscription at Capernaum records:

> Alphaeus, son of Zebeda (Zebedee), son of Johanan (John) made a column for this synagogue 'Let it be for him a blessing' (in Aramaic).[95]

Thus we have proof that the names presented us in the Gospels have counterparts in historical data.

If James was a priest it would explain some scholarly puzzles about Jesus' brother. Scholars have long noted the Greek learning which is present in the _Epistle of James_ and have therefore, not credited it, or the Hellenized parts with being authentic. However, tradition holds the opposite view just as strongly and this work's hypothesis explains how it was possible for James to have this Greek learning. As an educated upper class priest he would have been exposed to Greek learning in the same manner as the members of the family of Gamaliel I.[96] The epistle shows great affinity with Jewish wisdom literature too, especially the Egyptian Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon. The author makes use of the method of diatribe which was used by Greek orators and writers and which concentrates on one subject, uses irony or sarcasm, and answers imaginary opponents. James, as an upper class priest, must have been trained in Greek literature and studied it carefully, for he notes "the wheel of becoming" and technical astronomical terms. The earlier mentioned remark about Gamaliel and members of the Phabi family demonstrates that Greek learning was not incompatible with being a priest.

Reflections of James' Hellenistic background also appear in The Second Apocalypse of James.[97] The author of The Second Apocalypse is a Jewish priest named Maream (Mareim, Maram) and he calls himself a kinsman of James' father whom he calls Theuda. Bohlig has pointed out that this is a variant spelling for the name Thaddeus.[98] Thad-deus is Latin for God (deus) and familial relationship (ad) and would be the same as Theophilus in Greek or Jedidiah in Hebrew. This agrees with the fact that Joseph was a priest of the clan of Jedidiah/Theophilus. Maream says that he served on the 'Sanhedrin' which condemned James to death by stoning. Since he is a priest it is possible that the Priestly Court of twenty-three is referred to. This court is discussed further in a later Chapter.

James who is called the brother of the Lord (Jesus) by Paul, refers to himself in what is called The Second Apocalypse of James in the following terms:

> I am the Beloved, I am the Righteous One, I am the Son of the Father. I speak as I have heard. I command as I have received commandment. I cause you to know as I have known.[99]

Following the theory which has been laid out so far it is possible to see that translators have misinterpreted the words here because they had foreseen no other possibility. Since Hebrew does not have the verb 'to be' these titles may well be names rather than attributives. According to this hypothesis we have a series of references to James' priestly status: 'Beloved' should be Jedidiah/Theophilus; 'the Righteous One' should be Zadok (the Just); and 'Son of the Father' should be Abbas/Abijah/Ahijah. James, then, tells us that he is teaching as a priest teaches his disciples (the novitiates of his course) and is passing on the principles and ritual in the same words as that which he received. Jesus said the same thing when he stated: "I do nothing on my own authority, but speak as the Father taught me" (John 8:28). "All that I have heard from my Father I have made known to you" (John 15:15). "The Father who sent me has himself given me commandment what to say and what to speak" (John 12:49). What James and Jesus are doing is citing their precedent and authority for telling their novitiates what they are about to tell them in the same manner as the Rabbis of the Talmud state "Ishmael told Jesus who told my father (Abba) who said...". And so James tells them his course (Abbas/Abijah/Phabi), his priestly clan (Jedidiah/Theophilus), and that he is a Zadokite. This information about James supports our view that this is also Jesus' family background.

Elliott-Binns, in his work, Galilean Christianity, notes that James was the ruler of the early Christian church in "imitation of the High

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Priest" and yet he states that James "may have been a Pharisee".[100] James was in fact a Shammaite Pharisee, for Josephus states that those who were strict in observance of the Law were offended by James' death and secretly sent a group to Agrippa.[101] If Annas, who condemned James and who called together the Priests' Council to do so, was a Sadducee, how do we explain Josephus' remark? For he referred to the Sadducees as those who were strict in their observances. James can not be a Sadducee since he believes in resurrection, so the only possible solution is that he was a Shammaite Pharisee. They were strict in observances as opposed to the Hillelites' faction, and yet were in opposition to the Sadducees over some of the Temple ritual and other matters. This conclusion is supported by the evidence offered in a later Chapter.

James died nearly thirty years after the death of his brother, Jesus, under essentially similar circumstances. According to Josephus, James along with others was charged with transgressing the Law by Annas and was stoned to death. Annas was able to execute the judgment because Festus, the Procurator, had just died in office and Annas used the interregnum to strike at James and his faction and execute them according to his priestly right as head of the Priests' Council.

Thus according to our sources both James and Jesus were killed by Annas. If we look at the list of High Priests from the family of Annas:

Annas	6 - 15 A.D.
Eleazar	16 - 17 A.D.
Mattathias. . .	42 - 44 A.D.
Annas	62 A.D.

it is striking that these periods in office coincide, exactly, with the periods of persecution cited by the early Christian 'church' as recorded

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in Acts.[102] This is due, according to our hypothesis, to the struggle between the House of Annas and the House of Abijah/Phabi for control of the Highpriesthood; and when Acts refers to persecution by the Jews what it is really referring to is this conflict. Josephus tells us that James was accused of transgressing the Law (not sedition or revolution against the government) and was stoned by Annas along with unknown "others". At the same time, Annas wiped out the sicarii (they were the violent wing of the Shammaites as noted in Chapter II) and released certain prisoners from prison. Thus we have a similar situation to that of Jesus — Jesus was first accused by the High Priest of transgressing the law and this too coincided with an insurrection and the elimination of some of its participants and the release of others.[103]

Our record of the stoning of James seems to be very factual for it corresponds to the usual method of stoning. If a priest was condemned he was immediately taken out to be stoned.[104] The stoning place was outside the Temple walls and there was a complicated system of flags which allowed the condemned to ask to be brought back to the court even up to the last second; if a new witness came to his defense. A herald went before the condemned man on his way to the stoning place and called out his name, his crime and his witnesses, and anyone who knew something in his defense was asked to come forward. The man was given a goblet of wine with frankincense to deaden his senses. While he was still on his way to the stoning place he was asked to confess so that he might have a share in the world to come. If he did not know how to confess he was told to say: My death shall atone for all my sins. When he had moved on towards the stoning place he was stripped of his garments and went

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the rest of the way naked.

The stoning place was raised about twelve feet off the ground. One of the witnesses who had testified against the condemned man pushed him off the stoning place so that he fell on his thighs and would fall on his back; if he fell on his face, he was turned over. The Mishnah indicates that many died from the effects of the first fall and nothing more was done to them. If the man did not die from the fall, the second witness took a stone and dropped it on the man's chest where his heart was located. If he survived then all who were standing by had to throw stones on him.

When the record states that the scribes and Pharisees cried out that 'even the Just One has gone astray' it makes clear that the charge against James was for apostasy.[105] But what exactly, did this mean? To the Pharisees the Shammaites, Sadducees, and Essenes were apostates because they differed in practice and belief from what they considered to be correct. The Pharisees, then, stoned James for being a 'rebellious elder' — rebelling against the decisions of the majority of Pharisaic leaders. Had James been only a poor layman he would have been excommunicated or condemned to one of the lesser punishments and chased back to the Galilee.

"So they went up and threw down the Just One, and they said to one another, 'Let us stone James the Just [ha Zadokite]'. And they began to stone him since the fall had not killed him".[106] This account of the stoning agrees very closely with what were the actual procedures of stoning. The witness took James up on top of the stoning place and pushed him down and the fall did not kill him. "But he turned (over) and knelt, saying 'I beseech thee, Lord God and Father (notice that he too calls God his Father), forgive them, for they do not know what they are going".[107] Our record has James turning himself over and praying for God's forgiveness not for himself as would one who was guilty, but for the men who were killing him. 'And a certain one of them (A Rechabite) one of the (Levite) laundrymen, took the club with which he beat the clothes, and struck the Just One (Zadok) on the head, and thus he died the martyr's death".[108] The Levite priesthood was divided up into certain jobs: singers, doorkeepers, incense makers, and even laundrymen who had to be Levites in order not to contaminate the holy garments.

An explanation of this method of execution is to be found in the records of the trials of priests. The Priests' Court is discussed in a later Chapter but a brief summary is in order here. The priests were responsible for policing and trying their own, much as the armed services are in America. The Priests' Court was presided over by the most powerful of the heads of the priestly Father's Houses. They had rules for the behavior of priests within the Temple which, if not followed, were enforced with harsh punishments. For example: the priests and Levites had to stand guard at twenty-one places on the Temple mount, and the officer of the Temple mount would periodically check on these guards. If he found any one of them sleeping he was entitled to beat him with a stick and burn his priestly garment.[109] Burning his garment rendered him unable to serve in the Temple and thus ineligible for the perquisities of the priesthood. This might mean the difference between life and destitution. So the guards were careful. However, we have records that these beatings and burnings did take place:

> A priest who performed the Temple service during impurity is not brought before the Court by his fellow priests; but the young priests take him out of the Temple courts and split his skull with logs.[110]

Finkelstein shows that this means that the accused was not tried by the ordinary courts but by his fellow priests.[111] Thus, Rabbi Eleazar ben Hyrcanus (who was denounced as a Christian by the Roman authorities) maintained that a priest, even "a High Priest, who steps between the altar and the 'porch' (in a state of ritual impurity) is liable to having his skull split with logs".[112] John seems to have a remembrance of the Court, even though the Synoptics have court yard in their version:

> Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple. As this disciple was known to the High Priest, he entered the court of the High Priest along with Jesus, while Peter stood outside at the door. (John 18:15)

Thus it may very well be that Jesus was tried before the Priests' Court. This is thoroughly explored in a later Chapter.

The record of James' death continues: "And they buried him in the place beside the Temple". This is also in keeping with the historical record, for those who were executed were not buried with their parents, but in one of the two cemeteries run by the Court (one for those slain by sword or choking and one for those slain by burning and stoning). After the flesh of the corpse had been consumed, the bones were gathered by his relatives and buried in the family tomb. This was usually at the end of a year, and the relatives of the executed man had to come in peace and greet the Judges and the witnesses so that no vendetta might be carried on. The relatives also did not lament too loudly for the dead, but mourned in their hearts.[113] The Gospel of Peter states:

> Now early on the day of the Lord, Mary Magdalene, a disciple of the Lord — who was afraid because of the Judaeans for they were inflamed with anger, and had not done at the tomb of the Lord the things which women usually do to their loved ones (relatives) when they die — took friends with her and came to the tomb where he was laid. And they feared lest the Judaeans see them and said, "Even if we were not able to weep and lament him on the day on which he was crucified, yet let us now do so at his tomb".[114]

Our record of the death of James follows historical reality closely and also allows us to substantiate some of the events of Jesus' life. As has been shown many aspects of the record of James' life and death point to the fact that he was a priest.

Most interesting of all is Hegesippus' comments about James and the Holy of Holies.

> He used to go into the Temple alone and kneel and pray (to God) for forgiveness for the people...so that his knees became hard as a camel's.[115]

Scholars have recognized that James is being portrayed as the High Priest, but they claim that this is only an allegorical picture. However, why would later Christians value a tradition which, even allegorically, imitated the hated priesthood of the Jews who had killed not only the Messiah, but his brother James. Wouldn't it be more logical to portray him as a new prophet, or even as a king or prince of the house of David. Why the Highpriesthood, when they supposedly robbed and persecuted the lower classes from which the early Christians are said to have their greatest support? How do we explain away the tradition that John (who is called the 'beloved disciple') was also once a High Priest? Only the High Priest went alone into the Holy of Holies and prayed for the forgiveness of the Jews and all mankind by God.

Hegesippus continues:

> So, because of the great abundance of his righteousness he was called 'the Just' and Oblias, 'which means rampart of the people' and righteousness as the prophets disclose concerning him...Even many of the rulers believed and there was an uproar among the Judaeans, the scribes and the Pharisees [notice that the Sadducees and the priests are left out] who said that the whole people was in danger of looking for Jesus as the Messiah. So they went to James and said, 'We beg you to restrain the people, for they have strayed off after Jesus, as though he were the Messiah. We beg you to persuade concerning Jesus all who have come to the Passover....[116]

Again, what we have here is James being called 'the Just' which in the context of the forementioned priestly conditions can only mean Zadok. Then, either Hegesippus or Eusebius has attempted to translate Oblias for their readers and state that it means 'rampart of the people'. This is an inaccurate translation. Rampart in Hebrew is silelah or dayek neither of which even resemble Oblias. The l in Oblias is probably due to the random intrusion of labials into a name; and Obias can be shown to be the same name as Abias in a language which has no vowels such as Hebrew. Again, therefore, we have the mention of members of Jesus' family as being from Abias (Abijah/Abbas) and of Zadok. Both of these, as has been seen, are the signs of priesthood membership.[117]

Our author goes on to note that many of the rulers have come to believe, and that at the same time there was an uproad (riot) among the Judaeans, scribes and Pharisees over the coming of Jesus as the Messiah. We have already noted that in 62 A.D. there was a riot caused by what Josephus records as a struggle over the Highpriesthood by rival factions.[118] We know that Ishmael ben Abijah/Phabi and some of his associates were sent to Rome in chains, and we know that Paul and some of his associates were sent to Rome about this same time. It is important to remember that Paul was arrested for fomenting a riot in the Temple courts. It is also important to note that the priesthood, per se, is not mentioned in the passage quoted above. More than likely this is who 'the rulers' are because at this time the running of the government is in the hands of the priests even though Agrippa I is King. What many of the rulers (priests) have come to believe is that Jesus was the Messiah and that they were living in the Messianic Age. This will be highlighted in a later Chapter. As a result there was an uproar (riot) in the Temple and James was asked to calm the people. If the people who were rioting were the common folk and artisans of Jerusalem why would they riot in a place where they were certain to be outnumbered by police and opposition priests? They did not want to gain control of the Temple for they knew that they could not offer sacrifices to God. And without the sacrifices, their chances for redemption were gone. Rather, it was the priests who were involved in the rioting in the Temple. They were fighting each other for control over the Temple and Paul's speech, the subsequent riot, and his arrest are all part of this scene.[119] As a result James is asked to calm the crowds and is put upon the pinnacle of the Temple to do so. Since Passover of an intercalated year was the time that Jesus' family was scheduled to serve in the Temple it was natural that James would be asked to speak.[120] Most of the priests who were working in the Temple, except during the actual slaughtering of the lambs, would be from the division of Abijah/Phabi and would respond to his authority as one of their elders.

This Chapter has demonstrated that there is a great deal of information about the socio-economic origins of Jesus' family which has not been explored before. It has been demonstrated that Maria was not a harlot and that Jesus was the child of a levirate marriage. Also, Joseph and his position as a Chief Priest of Abijah/Phabi has been explored. Finally, the material which points to the priestly origins of Jesus' brother, James, has been reviewed. The next Chapter will examine the evidence which proves that Jesus was a Chief Priest of the priestly divison of Abijah/Phabi.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

[1] Moshe Schwabe, Beth She 'arim (New Brunswick, 1974), Vol. II, pp. 5, 23, 39, 43; 'Lady', like 'Lord', referred to an upper class person.

[2] Harry J. Leon, The Jews of Ancient Rome (Philadelphia, 1960), pp. 327, 331.

[3] Ibid., pp. 320-321.

[4] Naomi G. Cohen, "Jewish Names as Cultural Indicators in Antiquity", Journal for the Study of Judaism, Vol. II (September, 1976), p. 121 n. 110.

[5] Leon, p. 121.

[6] Luke 1:41-42.

[7] Koran 19:27-29; J. W. Hirschberg, Juedische und Christliche Lehren im Vor-und fruechislamischen Arabien (1939), 61 ff., 129-130.

[8] Raymond E. Brown, et al, Mary in the New Testament (Philadelphia, 1978), p. 293.

[9] j. Ketuboth 5:29d; Jeremias, Jerusalem, p. 10.

[10] Joachim Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus (Philadelphia, 1969), p. 172.

[11] b. Yoma 54a; b. Ketuboth 106a.

[12] Josephus, Antiquities 3:124; War 5:212; b. Yoma 71b; j. Shekalim 3:13, 178.

[13] Who's Who in the New Testament — s.v. Mary, mother of Jesus, p. 282.

[14] Josephus, Antiquities 17:289; War 2:68.

[15] Mishnah Kiddushin 4:2; Hal'aptha therefore can not be the name of a town, since Sepphoris is listed as his residence.

[16] Numbers 3:9-10; See Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel (New York, 1961), p. 395; Jewish Encyclopedia — s.v. Priests; LXX I Kings 3:9 (doulos)

[17] Raymond Brown, The Birth of the Messiah (Garden City, 1977), pp. 28-29, 142-143, 150, 534-542.

[18] Tosephta, Hullin II 22-23; j. Aboda Zara 40d; j. Sabbath 14d. The Hebrew is Pntyr'.

[19] A. Deissmann, "Der Name Pantera," Orientalische Studen fur Theodor Noldeke (Giessen: Topelmann, 1906), pp. 871-75; L. Patterson, "Origin of the Name Pantera," Journal of Theological Studies, 19(1917-18), pp. 79-80.

[20] John 8:41.

[21] Josephus, Vita 3-6; Against Apion 1:7; j. 'Eduyyoth 8:3.

[22] Mishnah Nedarim 8:7; 9:10; Jeremias, Jerusalem, p. 218; S. Safrai, The Jewish People in the First Century (Philadelphia, 1976), p.754.

[23] Ibid.

[24] b. Ketuboth 12a; j. Ketuboth 1, 25a; See the commentary of S. Lieberman on Tosefta Kipeshuta, pp. 193-4.

[25] S. Safrai, pp. 756-757.

[26] Andrew D. Heffern, "The Four Women in St. Matthew's Genealogy of Christ," Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 31 (1912), pp. 69-81; Brown, Mary in NT, pp. 77-83; See Talmud tractates Yebamot and Ketuboth.

[27] Liddell and Scott, p. 619.

[28] See Jewish Encyclopedia on Levirate.

[29] Saul Levin, The Father of Joshua/Jesus (Binghamton, 1978), pp. 101-107.

[30] Jeremias, p. 94.

[31] Mishnah Yebamoth 4:10.

[32] Leviticus 12:6; 8.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Brown, p. 448.

[35] b. Sanhedrin 27b-28a.

[36] b. Yebamoth 35b.

[37] Brown, p. 448 note 120; Midrash Rabbah XX 7 on Genesis 3:16.

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[38] John 8:41; 'God himself' seems to be a later gloss.

[39] Brown, Birth, p. 537-541.

[40] Harvey K. McArthur, "Son of Mary," Novum Testamentum, Vol. XV (Jan. 1973).

[41] M. R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford, 1953), pp. 48cf., Protoevangelium 23:3.

[42] Matthew 2:11.

[43] Liddell and Scott, pp. 107, 55.

[44] Brown agrees that the children are meant to return (in Birth), p. 206.

[45] Jeremiah 31:16-17.

[46] Francis Beare, The Earliest Records of Jesus (Oxford, 1962), p. 52.

[47] Josephus, War 1:655.

[48] Josephus, Antiquities 18:23.

[49] Josephus, War 1:653-655; Antiquities 17:158-163.

[50] Martin Hengel, Crucifixion (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 29 notes 21, 34.

[51] Josephus, Antiquities 17:286-298; War 2:66-79.

[52] Pirke Abot 1:11.

[53] Karl Kautsky, Foundations of Christianity, Tr. Henry Mins (New York, 1953).

[54] Josephus, Antiquities 15:390.

[55] Beth She'arim, p. 215.

[56] Jeremias, Jerusalem, p. 170.

[57] Ibid., pp. 170-171.

[58] There is a very good picture of the inscription in Avraham Negev, Archaeology in the Land of the Bible (New York, 1977), p. 60.

[59] b. Abodah Zarah 27b; Minim — see b. Rosh Hashanah 17a, 22b (the followers of a certain Boethus who lived in the second century B.C.).

[60] Matthew 1:14.

[61] Josephus, *Antiquities* 9:6; Hervey, p. 133 on the marriage of the daughters of priests.

[62] Leon, pp. 95-107.

[63] Luke 1:36.

[64] Romans 16:21.

[65] Philemon 1:2.

[66] Polycrates (on John); chosing twelve priests — b. Tamid 3, b. Yoma 2:3.

[67] Jewish Encyclopedia — s.v. Priests; Roland de Vaux, p. 366-367.

[68] Josephus, *Antiquities* 18:2, 17:355; priests enrolled with their wives and children, II Chronicles 31:18; also see Leviticus 25:32-34 on priests owning land.

[69] Luke 3:31.

[70] Josephus, *Antiquities* 17:78.

[71] Josephus, *Antiquities* 14:22 — *onias de tis onoma dikaios aner kai Theophiles*.

[72] Liddell and Scott, p. 397.

[73] The Hasmonean, Alexander Jannaeus, was educated in the Galilee and Samaria and Mattathias Antigonus found support there — *Antiquities* 13:322; *Antiquities* 14:102. Herod the Great married Mariamme I in Samaria before he attempted the takeover of Judaea.

[74] John 8:49.

[75] Priests as God's Slave (*doulos*) LXX I Kings 3:9.

[76] Erwin R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light* (Amsterdam, 1969), p. 94.

[77] XVIII:24.

[78] Goodenough, p. 96.

[79] Ibid., p. 115.

[80] Philo, *De Fuga et Inventione*, 108-112.

[81] Goodenough, p. 105.

[82] John 18:36.

[83] Philo, De Specialbus Legibus, I, 116.

[84] Philo, De Vita Mosis, II, 134.

[85] Leon, p. 115.

[86] I Maccabees 2:2-5; II Maccabees 8:22-23.

[87] See Metzger 102-104.

[88] Eusebius, Church History II 23:4-18.

[89] Josephus, Against Apion II:186-187; Antiquities 3:190-192; Leviticus 22:6 (All priests are holy).

[90] Ibid.; Antiquities 3:190-192.

[91] Safrai, p. 797.

[92] b. Sanhedrin 22b.

[93] Coleman, Norton eds., "James the Brother of the Lord," Studies in Roman Economic and Social History, (1951), p. 150.

[94] Ibid., p. 148.

[95] At Capernaum there is a column written in Aramaic — cf., Vol. I Archaeology.

[96] Tosefta Sotah 15:8; j. Shabbath VI, 7d; b. Sotah 49b.

[97] S. Kent Brown, "Jewish and Gnostic Elements in the Second Apocalypse of James (C G V, 4)," Novum Testamentum, Vol. 17 (July, 1975).

[98] Alexander Bohlig "Zum Martyrium des Jakobus," Novum Testamentum, Vol. 5 (1962), pp. 208-209.

[99] James Robinson ed., The Nag Hammadi Library (New York, 1978).

[100] Elliott-Binns, L. E., Galilean Christianity (London, 1956), p. 73ff; p. 60.

[101] Josephus, Antiquities 20:220.

[102] Acts 3; 4; 5:12-42; 12; (Stephen) 6:8-8:2; (Paul) 23:12-26:32.

[103] Luke 23:6ff; Matthew 26-28; Mark 14:27ff.

[104] b. Sanhedrin 42b; cf., S. Kent Brown's article.

[105] Josephus, Antiquities, 20:200.

[106] Eusebius, II 23:10.

[107] Ibid., 23:16.

[108] Ibid., 23:20.

[109] b. Middoth Chapter 1, Mishnah 2.

[110] b. Sanhedrin 81b.

[111] Louis Finkelstein, The Pharisees (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 732.

[112] Tosefta Kelim 1:6, p. 569.

[113] b. Sanhedrin 46a (burial in special Sanhedrin tombs).

[114] The Gospel of Peter 12:50 - 13.57.

[115] Eusebius, Church History, 23:4-18.

[116] Ibid.

[117] cf. Chapter II in Eusebius.

[118] Josephus, Antiquities 20:205-207; 20:180-181.

[119] Ibid.

[120] R. T. Beckwith, "St. Luke, the Date of Christmas and the Priestly Courses at Qumran," Revue De Qumran Vol. 9 (1977), pp. 73-94.

Chapter 5

JESUS THE CHIEF PRIEST (*E̓PISTÁTĒS*)

Earlier Chapters have discussed Jesus' father, mother and brother, James. They have demonstrated that Jesus was a Shammaite Pharisee and came from the priestly family of Abijah/Phabi. This Chapter will show that Jesus was a Chief Priest and that as such he performed certain rites in the Temple in Jerusalem. The vast amount of data on Jesus' socio-economic origins supports the contention that Jesus was a priest. For example, Schwabe has shown that Jesus is a priestly name and that it remains so even after 100 A.D. Brown notes that Luke, in retelling the naming of Jesus, uses a common Semitism in his "you will *call* his name Jesus".[1] Matthew, however, mistakenly interprets Jesus' name as meaning "for he will save". *'Iesou* is a Hellenized (as two of Jesus' brothers' names were) rendering of the Hebrew name *Yashua* which is a shortened form of the name *Yehoshua*, or Joshua in English. As Brown notes: "The original meaning of *Yehoshua* was 'Yahweh helps' from the root *šwʾ* 'to help'.[2] He then refers to "popular etymology" which connects the name with 'to save'. The data has been searched and no "popular etymology" for such a claim was found. However, Philo, as noted by Brown, interprets Joshua-Jesus to mean "the salvation of Jah (the Lord)" which he explains is a name for the finest state that a man, or his soul, can be in.[3] Matthew, as can be seen, has twisted the meaning slightly so that his reader thinks it is Jesus who will do that saving. However, the import of the Hebrew is that it is God who will save. As will be seen the frequent occurrence of names in Jesus' genealogies with 'help' in them supports the view that his name was chosen as a family name.

Other passages in Matthew indicate that he has the tendency to extend his interpretations beyond their original meaning. For example,

> And she shall bring forth a son and you shall call his name Jesus for he shall save his people from their sins. Now this all came to pass that might be fulfilled that which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet saying 'Behold the virgin with child shall be and shall bring forth a son and they shall call his name Emmanuel which being interpreted is 'With us God'. (Matthew 1:21-23)

Emmanuel can be interpreted as 'God with us', but it can also just as well be interpreted 'People (Kindred) of God' which is in Hebrew Ammi-el. This interpretation would make sense within the NT context, for Jesus was never called Emmanuel, and "People (Kindred) of God" is Theophilus in Greek and Abijah in Hebrew. Perhaps the original usage of Ema(n)uel was in this context; since as a member of the priestly family of Abijah Jesus would be God's helper (as his priestly servant).

Today children are often given names simply because they have attracted their parents fancy, or because they sounded nice with the family name, or they are the name of some movie or book character. Sometimes, too, children are named for their grandparents or other relatives. In Jesus' time Jewish children were given names because of their symbolic meaning, but their names were usually also those of a relative. This resulted in the repetition of the same name within a given clan. James Barr in his work on the symbolism of names has noted:

> The fact that Hebrew names made sense, and that this sense was deliberate and solemn, is one basic reason why the Israelites developed a strongly etymological sense, which expresses itself

> at many places in the Old Testament where something is said about a name. The fact that Hebrew names are being etymologized is sufficiently evident to the reader of the Bible even if he has no Hebrew. For instance, when he hears (Gen. 32:38) "Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and has prevailed", or again (Gen. 30:6) "And Rachel said, God hath judged me, and hath also heard my voice, and hath given me a son: therefore called she his name Dan", it is transparent that some kind of etymological play upon or explanation of the name is being provided.[4]

That this practice carried over into NT times can be established by citing the NT itself,

> And it came about that on the eighth day they came to circumcise the child, and they were going to call him Zacharias, after his father. And his mother answered and said, 'No indeed; but he shall be called John' and they said to her, 'There is no one among your relatives who is called by that name'. (Luke 1:59-61)

The surprise of those present is occasioned by Elishabet's desire to name her son after a non-relative.

Remembering that Elishabet is from the priestly family of 'Elisha gives meaning to a story from the Talmud which Jeremias notes. A family of priests sought the advice of Johanan ben Zakkai about the fact that their sons died at the age of eighteen. Johanan stated that he thought that they must be descendants of the family of 'Eli who had come under the curse recorded in I Samuel. Johanan recommended that they study the Law (become a good Hillelite Pharisee). They also "on the basis of a belief about names, still found among Palestinian Jews" changed the family name to Johanan "so that the curse would be averted for good".[5] The curse as recorded in Samuel is "The man of you whom I shall not cut off from my altar [they will still be priests]... and all the increase of your house shall die by the sword of men". Perhaps it is Elishabet and her son who are referred to in the story. Certainly Elishabet is from the family of 'Eli and she did name her son Johanan even though it was not a family name. This tale from the Talmud demonstrates that the repetition of names within a family was the normal circumstance in the first century A.D.

Even today among Jews it is common for names to be repeated every other generation, or every third generation now that people are living longer. This is due to the tradition of naming children after a close deceased relative. Then, as now, this naming is supposed to keep the memory and spirit of the deceased alive.[6] This fact has led to much confusion for scholars of Jewish history, especially in their use of Josephus. He lists among the priests of the division of Abijah/Phabi or their relatives who held the Highpriesthood during NT times the following repetitive names:

Jesus ben Phabi
Ishmael ben Phabi
Joseph his brother (called Theophilus)
Mattathias Theophilus
Joseph his brother (called ben 'Eli)
Ishmael ben Phabi II
Joseph ben Qabi (Phabi)
Jesus ben Damnaeus (son of the condemned Phabi in Rome)
Jesus ben Gamaliel
Phinhas ben Ishmael

This list demonstrates the fact of repetition. Also it was the custom of post-exilic Jews to repeat similar names in the same generation by varying the forms of the root, or by a variety of compositions or transpositions of the basic elements. Thus in one family, whose founder's name meant 'He Gave' (Nathan) we find among his descendants or kinsmen, names which signify 'Gift' (Mathat), 'the Lord's Gift' (Mattathias), 'God Gave' (Jonathan), and 'A thing Given' (Jannai).

In Jesus' family we have his grandfather 'Eli-sha ('Elishua — 'Helper of God) where shua means 'help' and El is one of God's names.

Josephus tells us that Abishua, the High Priest's name is the same name as Abiezer and both have the same meaning 'Helper of the people' or 'People of the helper'.[7] Jesus' maternal grandmother's family, the Boethids, have names which incorporate 'help'. Martha's brothers, Eleazar (Lazarus) and Joezar, have names which mean 'God helps' or 'helper of God' in Hebrew, and of course, Beothus means 'help' in Greek. Ancestors on both sides of Jesus' family have names which are derived from 'help' and this demonstrates the intermarriage of the two families of Abijah/Phabi and Boethus. Hervey, when examining Jesus' genealogies concluded:

> Upon a general review then of all those names of the ancestors of Christ recorded by the Evangelists...we find, with some exceptions, partly perhaps attributable to corruption of the genuine names, and partly to those incidental and soon forgotten circumstances which occasionally influence parents to give particular names to their children, that there is a most remarkable accordance in these names with one another...and with those names of our Lord's kinsmen or brethren...This accordance is of a kind which could hardly have been designed; but is in exact agreement with the customs and feelings of the Jews.[8]

One of the strongest pieces of evidence which supports the view that Jesus was from the priestly division of Abijah/Phabi of the clan of Jedidiah/Theophilus and the descendants of Zadok, are Jesus' genealogies. I believe that apologists from Africanus on, and modern scholars, have been wrong in attempting to reconcile the differences between the two genealogies of Jesus. Rather we should follow Wilson in his excellent research which shows that where there are two genealogies for a famous ruler it is because their (the genealogies') functions are different.[9] Wilson has pointed out that because we, in the West, think of genealogies as historical documents we tend to impose this view on the Biblical texts and ask the wrong questions:

such as, are they accurate? Wilson has also shown that genealogies are seldom, entirely, the invention of some author. With this as our starting base we must then remember Wilson's crucial notation: that a particular genealogy's function must fall within the range of the functions permitted by the form of the genealogy. To try and harmonize the various versions only obscures the intention of the biblical writer.

Briefly, genealogies are either linear or segmented. Linear genealogies trace one line of a family from a living person to a single ancestor and are used to relate that current personality to some person in the past. Segmented genealogies are like family trees which trace more than one line of descent from a single ancestor. This occurs where it is important to show that various living members of a society are related to each other. Thus genealogies can be used to express: social status, political power, economic strength, legal standing, land ownership, and religious importance. Wilson notes that the most striking characteristic about Near Eastern genealogies is their fluidity. Fluidity is due to memory lapse and as a result, genealogies of five generations are the norm. Unimportant ancestors are often forgotten and lost and names, or their spelling, are confused. This happens in the middle sections, especially, where the laws of memorization note that it is harder to remember the middle of a list than the end or the beginning.[10]

Another reason for fluidity is related to a genealogy's function. The concept of lineage is based on an individual society's social organization. From the time of the return from the exile the Jews organized their society theocratically (around their priesthood). The

High Priest was head of the state for most of the nearly six hundred years until Jesus; even under the Hasmonean Kings. For inside Judaea they were first, and foremost, the High Priest of Yahweh. Therefore, in Judaea and Galilee, the important element in the social structure was being related to the High Priest. For this, and other reasons, the priesthood was careful to urge marriage within their own group.

Linear genealogies have restricted functions and usually support claims to power or property through descent from a single individual who was the original possessor of the power or property. When a usurper, or new clan-family has intervened, the descendant of the original holder of the office, who is trying to restore his clan to office, uses a genealogy to support his legitimacy to rule. When he does this the specific number of names, or even the order of those names, is irrelevant. Thus we note that fluidity in the middle of lists often occurs when genealogies are used politically. For example, in the UR II dynasty where a son becomes a grandson so that political reality can be incorporated; another, non-family, king had come between the two.[11] This kind of genealogy is accurate politically, but not biologically. Another example is the Assyrian King list which demonstrates that when a compiler does not recognize certain kings as legitimate he often omits them from the list. Most importantly, Wilson has established that to begin with the latest king and move backwards is to follow the royal inscription pattern. In all cases the royal inscription pattern has been shown to be historically accurate.

Segmented genealogies are used to reflect the basis of tribal government. In Genesis segmented genealogies relate tribal groups for political reasons. Political linear genealogies according to Wilson, such as Saul's and David's disappear shortly after Solomon's time. This is probably due to the fact that the descendants of David had firmly established themselves in the Kingship and had allied themselves with their nearest political threat, the priesthood, by means of intermarriage. We often see that the eldest daughter of a Davidic king marries the high priest or his eldest son.[12]

The kings of Israel and Judah sought legitimacy by appealing to divine appointment. We have a reflection of this in the debate between Jesus and his fellow Jews over what is meant by the statement "And my Lord said to his Lord".[13] In the Northern Kingdom (part of which was to become the Galilee) prophets sometimes delivered the divine oracle which proclaimed a man the legitimate king. Wilson notes that this is similar to Mesopotamia where segmented genealogies are used by the Amorites who had a tribal social organization like the Jews. Once they came into power they replaced their segmented genealogies with linear ones which matched their monarchical states. In pre-Islamic Arabia genealogies were primarily linear, but did not stretch beyond four or five generations.

Both of Jesus' genealogies are seen by Wilson to be linear. In the case of Matthew from Abraham to David to Jesus, and from Jesus to David to Abraham and thence to God in Luke. Wilson notes that Matthew follows David's royal line to the time of the exile, but makes no attempt to analyze what is meant by the names which follow. Luke, who uses the historical method of beginning with a living person and tracing his genealogy backwards, omits all the Davidic rulers during the monarchical period. Again Wilson does not ask why Luke does this or what is the significance of the names which follow David. Wilson does say that Matthew's function is to show that Jesus is the Messiah (God's anointed one), the son of David, the son of Abraham. But this ignores the nine names from the exile to Joseph. If it is assumed that Matthew had some purpose in the first part of his genealogy from Abraham to Zerubabel, how can we ignore the remaining names by just saying that their origin is unknown to us? If Wilson is right in saying that Luke's genealogy establishes Jesus as God's son then are all the rest of the names of Jesus' ancestors God's sons too?

In studying the list given by Matthew it is, immediately, noticeable that Joseph, Jesus' father, is the only Joseph in the entire list. There is an analogy in Josephus, the historian; when he presents his genealogy to us and claims royal descent from the priestly 'first family'(as he calls them) he claims relationship through his mother.[14] However, when he presents the list he ends it by tacking on his father just before his own name. He is able to go back five generations. However, since over two hundred and thirty years have elapsed he must have left out some names. It may be possible that Josephus' father's and mother's genealogy are really identical because, in order to preserve the purity of the family lineage and inheritance rights, he had done what many priests were urged to do and married his niece. Thus Josephus' mother's genealogy would be identical with his father's. It is also possible in Joseph's (Jesus' father) case that he married his niece and this Chapter has attempted to establish evidence for this.

We will now examine what scholars call the 'unknown' names of the two genealogies of Jesus. Scholars have been able to identify the specific person which the genealogies list up to Zerubabel. After Zerubabel most have avoided any attempt at discovering their identity. After Zerubabel, Matthew lists Abiud. Abiud is a shortened form of Judah or Abijahud who was a son of Aaron, the first High Priest. So when Matthew resumes his list after the exile he begins with a name which is clearly traceable as the same name as an ancestor of the first High Priest, or the first holder of the office. This corresponds with what Wilson says about linear genealogies and may even point out how usurpers are left off of lists.

The next name in Matthew's list is Eliakim which is also a name given to priests and is linquistically identical with Joachim. Eliakim (Eliachim) means 'relative' (achim) or 'brother' of 'my God' (Eli). As has been shown, Joachim has the same meaning. Next we have Azar which can be the short form of Joazar and means 'God will help', or in its short form 'helper'. It too, is a priestly name and as has been noted one of the Boethids had this name. Zadok is, of course, a priestly name. Achim is a shortened form of Joachim or Eliachim, and has now appeared in one form, or another, twice in five names. This repetition of names supports its authenticity. Eliud is probably related to Eleazar and is short for 'my God will help'. Eleazar is a priest's name and appears in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Early Roman period.[15] It could reflect the move of the Abijah family to Egypt with Onias. Mattan is the shortened form of Mattathias and is a priestly name. It is also the original name of Zedekiah. The last name before Joseph is Jacob which would be better explained if it was a mistaken spelling for

Joachim. m and b are often confused in manuscripts; and we could have Joachib, Joacib, etc. Thus we have in Matthew's list a set of priestly names which seem to be related to each other. Three of the ten names used are found among Egyptian Jews in NT times. This is substantiated by the Egyptian origin of the names Phabi and Jedidiah which have been covered in an earlier Chapter. Did Matthew choose Egyptian names to fit his journey to Egypt story or are they authentic ancestors of Jesus?

If most of the later names of the genealogy are pure invention we need to ask ourselves why would Matthew choose to associate Jesus with priests? During the period that the names cover the Hasmoneans were in power as priest-kings and after that we have the House of Herod. Matthew seems to be rejecting these kings in favor of the priestly descendants of Zadok. Our evidence about Jesus' family supportsthis. Before we pursue this further we need to examine Luke's genealogy. Luke, as has been mentioned, uses the historical methodology and presents nearly twice as many names between Zerubabel and Joseph as does Matthew. Luke begins with Rhesa and this has been shown to be an epithet of Zerubabel and means 'Prince'. Thus the first name after Zerubabel in Luke's genealogy is Joanan (Jonathan, Johanan) who was High Priest from 424 - 404 B.C. and the name means 'gift of God'. Joda is probably Juddua (Judah) who was the last High Priest who was mentioned in the Torah and who lived around 400 B.C. Josech is probably Joseph and means 'he shall add — in the sense of 'aid'. Semein is Symeon and means 'God hears' and could be the priest Simeon Onias who went to Egypt. This is substantiated by the next name Mattathias which means 'Gift of the Lord' and is common among the priests in Egypt.[16] He is followed by the name

Maath which is a Levite name.[17] This is the name of many Egyptian priests and the name points to Levite origins according to Johnson.[18] Naggai can be one of two names: Haggai where the n has been substituted for the h by a scribe and would mean 'born on a festival'. Esli is most certainly due to the rearrangement of its letters and is probably the priestly name Eli-shua (Elisha) which means 'God is my help' from the Hebrew root šw̓ 'to help'. Nahum is Nathan or Johanan again. Amos is unknown except for the prophet. Mattathias is used three times in the latter portion of Luke. Joseph follows. Josephus, the historian, tells us what the men of his day meant by Joseph — it is the same name as Abishua which means 'my father helps' or 'helper of my father'.[19] Jannai is Johanan again. Finally, what we have in the next three names is identical to the phenomena of Zerubabel Rhesa. What we have here is Matthat (Mattathias) Levi (the priestly tribe's name) and Melchi (which means 'my king'). When this is translated in the same manner as Rhesa what we have is Matthat Priest and King. In 44 - 41 B.C. Mattathias Antigonus was the last priest-king of the House of the Hasmoneans. Eusebius, Africanus and Jerome all associate the two names.[20] After this we have the Egyptian spelling of the shorted name of Elishua, which means 'my God help' or 'helper of my God'.

Thus all the names in Luke's list, except for Naggai and Amos, can be shown to be the names of priests. Both Brown and Johnson have done an excellent job in explaining the intracacies of the problems with Jesus' genealogies and it is not our purpose to repeat those arguments here. However, in addition to noting the absolute primacy of priestly names in the latter portions of both of Jesus' lists we have one other crucial piece of information which can point to priestly origins for Jesus. Johnson notes: "There is one close parallel to Matthew's structure in the OT which, to my knowledge, has not been pointed out. That is the genealogy of the High Priest in I Chronicles".[21] Finkelstein also states that "the number fourteen is not accidental. It corresponds to the number of High Priests from Aaron to the establishment of the Temple until Jaddua; who was the last High Priest mentioned in the scriptures".[22] It is important to remember that Juddua begins what is called the 'unknown' portion of Luke's genealogy. Finkelstein says that it is clear that there is a mystical significance attached to this number (14) in both the priestly and Pharisaic traditions. Each group maintained that it was not an accident that the number of links in the chain of High Priests from Aaron to the time of Alexander the Great was a multiple of seven or fourteen. In Pirke Aboth the tradition is altered to include Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai and yet still make the chain of tradition equal fourteen.[23] The chain of tradition includes the names of the scholars who have passed down the oral law. Why would Rabbinical scholars eliminate the names of earlier, famous, Rabbis unless fourteen had a very special significance.

As II Baruch (Bar Achia) states: there are fourteen epochs of world history each marked by a certain event. It is useful here to compare Acts and Paul's and Stephen's speeches on the events which led up to Jesus. I Enoch shows that the world was in the next to last age which was called the period of the sword ('I came with a sword' said Jesus) and the building of the Messianic Temple ('I can rebuild it in three days'). After this period the last age was to be the Messianic age. II Baruch uses alternating periods of Light (bright) and dark and calls the next to last period that of the apocalyptic tribulations (such as the ones listed by Jesus).[24]

Josephus also uses the fourteen by fourteen scheme when he lists twenty-eight high priests after Herod's appointment by the Romans as King. He even includes the names of those who were substitute High Priests for only one day so as to reach twenty-eight. It is possible to see in Josephus' scheme that the Messiah would be the next High Priest. It is important to realize that Josephus ended his great life's work, The Antiquities, with this enumeration of the High Priests. He adds new facts and explanations to the list of High Priests and states that the total number of High Priests from Aaron to Phanasus (Panni, Pinesou, Phanniths, Phanasou) of Abijah/Phabi is eighty-three. This is one less than the necessary six by fourteen scheme and leaves the last number for the Messiah.[25]

It is important to note, as Brown and Johnson have before, that Matthew and Luke see Jesus as the Messiah in fulfillment of the total number of years expected by Daniel and others.[26] However, I would like to point out that cycles of fourteen are important in the case of the expectation of the priestly Messiah, or Cohen Zedek. Matthew has Jesus as the fulfillment of a fourteen by three cycle. Schlatter and Ropes have suggested that the explanation lies in the "Rabbinical" (they mean the schools of thought in the first century A.D.) background that three fourteens are actually three times the seventy weeks of years (490) found in Daniel. Thus, for each generation, exactly thirty-five years would have to be allotted to make the 490 years.

Finkelstein explains further:

> The number fourteen is not accidental. It corresponds to the number of High Priests from Aaron to the establishment of Solomon's Temple; the number of High Priests from the establishment of the Temple until Juddua, the last High Priest mentioned in Scripture. It is clear that a mystic significance attached to this number, in both the Sadducean [he means priestly] and Pharisaic [he means Hillelite] traditions. Each group maintained that it was no accident that the number of links in the chain...was a multiple of the mystic number 'seven'. This may seem a weak argument for the authenticity of a tradition; but antiquity was apparently prepared to be impressed by it. So impressive indeed was this argument, that in the Gospel of Matthew, the early Christian apologist, directing this argument against the Pharisees [Hillelite]... adopted a similar claim for Jesus, and traced his genealogy back to Abraham in a series of three chains of fourteen links each.[27]

Davies agrees with this view, and states that Matthew's genealogy was meant as a reply to the Pharisaic scholars who tried to apply the fourteen schema to their leaders in the opening sections of Aboth.[28]

Luke's genealogy also fits this midrashic pattern. The Pharisees speculated that the present world's duration was patterned after the week of creation: seven days of one thousand years each. This was based on Psalm 90:4: "A thousand years in thy [God's] sight are but as yesterday when it is passed". Johnson notes that early Christians were familiar with this argument as can be seen in II Peter:

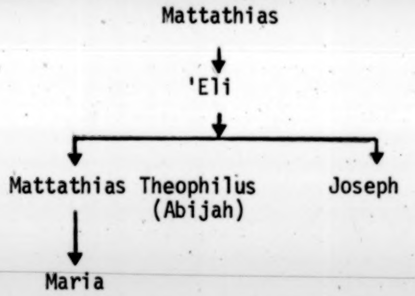
> But this one thing let not be hidden from you, Beloved (agape), that one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord does not delay the promise, as some esteem delay, but he is long suffering towards us, not willing for any to perish, but all to come to repentance. (3:8-9)

Thus the idea that the Messiah's coming was patterned after God's creation of the world was known and used in Jesus' time and among his early followers.

According to this plan, which Luke seems to have followed, the first two thousand years are the time without the Torah; the third and fourth are the age of the Torah; and the fifth and sixth are the Messianic age; while the seventh is the world's Sabbath and belongs to God. After this comes the age to come. The earliest extant source for this schema is II Enoch (Slavonic edition) which was dated by Charles to about 1-50 A.D. Thus we can see that this plan for the coming of the Messiah was in vogue during Jesus' time. Luke's genealogy supports the view that he used this idea in setting up his genealogy of Jesus. As can be seen Luke has seventy-seven names which when divided by fourteen equals five-point-five so we can not assume the same plan as that which Matthew used. Matthew's speculation as to when the Messiah was to come differs from Luke's pattern though he also had a legitimate model. Luke followed the book of Daniel in that he had fourteen times five-point-five which equals Daniel's seventy plus three and one-half.[29] Thus within the fifth age of the aforementioned plan Luke followed Daniel's lead and had it culminate in Jesus. It may have been that Luke knew of the negative response to Matthew's speculation and proposed a slightly different method of proof. It may also be that Matthew's expected date had been passed by without Jesus' return and so Luke presented a new interpretation. This would correspond to Luke's stated objectives in his prologue to Theophilus; as being 'accurately' acquainted with the events of Jesus' ministry from the beginning.

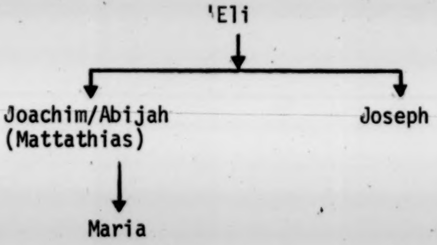
Thus we see that Jesus' genealogy was manipulated to prove that he was the Messiah (i.e. names were left out, etc.). Yet the extensive use of priestly names in the latter portions of the genealogies at least raises the question of whether Matthew and Luke were speaking of the Priestly Messiah or the Davidic. As far as the names nearest to Jesus an explanation for some of the differences can be offered in the following way. If Joseph married his niece, as was the custom for priests, then Luke's genealogy in its first three names looks like:

Luke's Genealogy



Matthew's would be looking from Maria's side and stating that, like Josephus' (the historian) genealogy the father's name, Joseph, was attached in the place of Jesus' mother's name. Maria's name really belongs here as the daughter of Joachim and Joachim as has been shown, is the same name as Abijah/Phabi.

Matthew's Genealogy



The theory fits with Wilson's view that most linear genealogies are accurate up to five names and that the rest of the genealogy is changed for political, religious or other reasons. Thus Jesus' genealogies can be analyzed in two major ways: by their function and by the names themselves. Our analysis of the names used in Jesus' genealogies after the exile demonstrates that they are overwhelmingly priestly and that they seem to be related by meaning. The function of the genealogy points to a priestly format also. Thus Jesus' genealogies can be seen to further substantiate the priestly origins of Jesus' family.

Though both Matthew and Luke present their readers with a genealogy for Jesus neither of them mention Jesus' pidyon ha ben (redemption of the first born son). We are told about his circumcision and his naming which, in keeping with Jewish tradition, took place on the eighth day after his birth. Again, both Luke and Matthew are in precise accord with Jewish practice in the first century A.D. According to that tradition the ritual purification of the mother took place at forty days. Leviticus specifies that a woman is to be considered ritually unclean for the seven days before the circumcision of a male child, and for the thirty-three days after.[30] The mother of a female was required to wait eighty days for her purification. The reason for this discrepancy has been variously explained.[31] One good explanation is that the first born ceremony (pidyon ha ben) had to be performed after one month and as a result the time of purification for the mother of a son was correspondingly lowered.[32] This was done in order to reduce the number of times that a family had to travel to Jerusalem in the first year of their child's life.

Matthew does not mention any ceremony which approximates a pidyon ha ben. Luke speaks only of Maria's purification and of her offering.

As Brown notes: "Luke "mention(s) nothing of the price, five silver shekels, required for redeeming the first born son from the service of the Lord".[33] Brown feels that Luke, arbitrarily, passes over this event so that he could discuss the sacrifice of the pigeons for Maria's purification. But why should Luke, or his source, who know so much about the Temple, and its services, make such a fundamental mistake? It is not something which would be passed over lightly. If, as some scholars claim, Luke fabricated Simon's blessing of Jesus why did he not fabricate the necessary pidyon ha ben? Every first born male, except those from a priestly family, had to have a pidyon ha ben. It would be a well known occasion in the life of ~~a~~ child. And in the case of Jesus, at least as important as the ritual purification of his mother. Since the focus of the narratives is Jesus why would Luke ignore such an important ritual to speak of pigeons? The answer is more likely that Jesus was from a priestly family and, therefore, dedicated to God's service from his birth, and could not have a pidyon ha ben.

The pidyon ha ben is necessary due to the law in the Torah which states that all first born are holy and dedicated to God.[34] Accordingly all first born sons should thus have to serve in the Temple as God's priests. This duty was taken over by the Levites, the tribe of Moses and Aaron, from the time of the Exodus. After the construction of the first Temple, it was allowed that all sacrifices to God could be redeemed by money, so the price of five silver shekels, the Temple coin, was agreed upon as the valuation of a first born son. The pidyon ha ben was the ritual for this exchange ceremony. Thus, the reason that Luke and Matthew do not mention a pidyon ha ben service, which should have taken place at the same time as his mother's purification, is that Jesus was the son of a priestly family and, as such, was not able to be redeemed.

Another episode in the infancy narratives which supports the view of Jesus as a priest is found in Luke:

> And his parents went up to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the Passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up according to the custom of the feast. And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the young man Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother did not know this. But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him among their kinfolk and acquaintances. And when they did not find him, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him. And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the Temple, sitting in the midst of the teachers, both hearing them and asking them questions. And all who heard him were astonished at his understanding and his answers. And when they saw him they were amazed; and his mother said to him,'Son, why have you dealt thus with us? Behold, your father and I have looked for you in great anquish.' And he said to them 'Why is it that you were looking for me? Did you not know it is necessary that I am engaged in the business of my father's house?' (Luke 2:41-50)

Jesus' family's journey to Jerusalem for the Passover has usually been seen as historical. Scholars explain this event with the Middle Ages tradition that a boy becomes responsible as a male member of the community at twelve years of age. Still this does not explain why his parents would not know that this was the reason for his staying in the Temple. They would have been proud observers, as would some of their family members, at this mark of their eldest son's manhood. Why did they not all stay until the questioning was over and go home together? Thirdly, scholars have only been able to provide theological explanations for Jesus' surprise when his parents show up and for his statement: "Did you not know it is necessary that I am engaged in the business of my father's house?"

Verse 42 states: "And when he became twelve years old (he was beginning his thirteenth year) having gone up (they) into Jerusalem according to the custom". Luke 1:9 uses these exact words when referring to Zechariah and his 'fulfilling his priestly service according to the custom'. A non-priestly Jew would usually not remain for more than the first two days of Passover since the events of the rest of the week had no significance for him and he was not required to attend any of the rest of the Temple ceremonies.[35] This was not so for a priest who belonged to the division whose duty it was to serve during the festival. As will be shown in a later Chapter, the division of Abijah/Phabi served during Passover of an intercalated year. It is important to realize that even though all priests helped out during the pilgrimage festivals there was only one course who was actually on duty. It so happened that Passover falls during the scheduled time for Jesus' family.

Luke continues: "And as they returned (literally, turned about) Jesus, the young man, dared to remain behind in Jerusalem". It must be noted that there is a significant change here from the use of *paidíon* in verse 2:40 to *paîs* in this verse.[36] According to priestly regulations, when a boy first began to show the marks of puberty he was ready to be tested, to begin to learn the holy rites, and start serving in the Temple. However, since there were so many priests, and not enough emoluments to go around, the custom was that a novice did not begin his service until he was twenty years old. Luke is telling us that Jesus is no longer a boy, but has begun to develop the signs of puberty and has decided that he wants to serve in the Temple with the other members of his father's house.

Verse 44 states: "Assuming that he was in the company". Priests and Levites were divided into companies and elsewhere Luke uses the same word as he does here (synodía) to mean a 'journeying together'.[37] He then continues" "they went a day's journey and sought him among the kinfolk (their blood relations)". If Bethlehem was Joseph's and Jesus' home town how do they end up among so many relatives (that they can not see Jesus readily) on their way to Nazareth? The company had to be large in order that they would be able to lose sight of Jesus for a whole day and not be concerned. He must not have even been beside them when they left Jerusalem, unless he stole away from them after they left the city. But Luke does not indicate that this is so. His parents must have assumed that Jesus was in their group. When they returned, they found him in the Temple, not in a teacher's house, or in the courtyard of the Temple where the booths of Annas were, but inside the Temple sitting in the midst (e̓n mésōͅ) of the 'teachers'. E̓n mésōͅ is also used by John in relation to Jesus and the woman caught in adultery (this is discussed further in Chapter Five). The saying "in the midst" when used in reference to the Temple, usually means in the room in which the Sanhedrin met. It was here that the priests were quizzed about their genealogies and qualifications for the priesthood. A prospective young priest was examined both physically and intellectually, by the High Priest and the elders of the priesthood, so that they might see if he was ready to assume his duties.

Ordinarily, translations make it seem as if Jesus was carrying on a Rabbinical disputation with the teachers, but that is not the meaning of Luke's Greek. Rather, Jesus was "hearing (listening to) them and asking them questions, and all who heard him were amazed at his quick comprehension (synesis). Josephus, the historian and priest, tells us that he, too, at about fourteen amazed his elders with his great understanding.[38]

Some scholars have attempted to prove that this passage in Luke refers to Jesus' Bar Mitzvah, but this is impossible since Bar Mitzvah boys traditionally began their studies at the festival of Sukkah.[39] They began on this holiday because this was when the Torah readings completed one cycle and began a new one. Since this event in Jesus' life takes place at Passover, it is impossible for this to be his Bar Mitzvah.

Verse 49 has Jesus concluding: "Why is it that you were looking for me? Did you not know that it is necessary (in the sense of a duty) for me to be engaged in the affairs (things, business) of my father?" Most translators prefer "engaged in the business of my father's house".[40] Either translation upholds the fact that Jesus was a young priest who, when he recognized that he had entered puberty, stayed on to learn about the affairs of his priestly house, and the rites of the Temple. When used in the Temple itself, the term "father's house" can only refer to the priestly Father's Houses. But even if a theological approach is taken and we think of the Temple as Jesus' biological father's house, the things (duties) of that house can only be performed by priests or Levites. Thus, even a theological interpretation supports the view that Jesus was a priest.

The priesthood was divided into twenty-four divisions (courses) each of which served in the Temple for two one week periods during the

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year. In addition, all the courses appeared at the three pilgrimage holidays: Passover, Tabernacles, Pentecost.[41] The names of the divisions are given in I Chronicles. The divisions are mentioned in sources from the Second Temple on, but apparently this system is rooted in the reality of the end of the First Temple period, after the cultic reforms of Josiah. The Chronicler dates the establishment of the divisions earlier, to the time of David, but he could be merely adhering to his method of attributing all the arrangements for the Temple to the time of King David.[42] Josephus tells us that the twenty-four divisions still persisted in his time. Most scholars agree that the splitting of the divisions into daily households reflects the reality of the end of the Second Temple period when the number of priests significantly exceeded those who returned to Israel from Babylon. The Chronicler states:

> The divisions of the sons of Aaron were these. The sons of Aaron: Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. But Nadab and Abihu died before their father, and had no children, so Eleazar and Ithamar became the priests. With the help of Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar, David organized them according to the appointed duties of their service. Since more chief men were found among the sons of Eleazar than among the sons of Ithamar, they organized them under sixteen heads of father's houses of the sons of Eleazar, and eight of the sons of Ithamar. They organized them by lot, all alike, for there were officers of the sanctuary and officers of God among both the sons of Eleazar and the sons of Ithamar. And the scribe Shemiah the son of Nethanel, a Levite, recorded them in the presence of the King, and the princes, and Zadok the priest, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, and the heads of the father's houses of the priests and of the Levites; One father's house being chosen for Eleazar and one chosen for Ithamar. (I Chronicles 24:3-19 — emphasis added)

Immediate questions arise — Why aren't Zakok or Ahimelech on the list? They must have been incorporated in someone's course. Where are the father's houses for Eleazar and Ithamar?

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The first lot fell to . . . Jehoiarib
The second to . . . . Jedidiah
The third to. . . . . Harim
The fourth to . . . . Se-orim
The fifth to. . . . . Malchijah
The sixth to. . . . . Mijamin
The seventh to. . . . . . . Hakkoz
The eighth to . . . . Abijah
The ninth to. . . . . Jeshua
The tenth to. . . . . Shecaniah
The eleventh to . . . . . . Eliashib
The twelfth to. . . . . . . Jakim
The thirteenth to . . . . . Huppah
The fourteenth to . . . . . Jeshebeab
The fifteenth to. . . . . . Bilgah
The sixteenth to. . . . . . Immer
The seventeenth to. . . . . Hezir
The eighteenth to . . . . . Happizzez
The nineteenth to . . . . . Pethahiah
The twentieth to. . . . . . Jehezekel
The twenty-first to . . . . Jachin
The twenty-second to. . . . Gamul
The twenty-third to . . . . Delaiah
The twenty-fourth to. . . . Maaziah

Father's Houses are important because a priestly course like Abijah/Phabi was later divided into four to nine such houses which then split up the days of their week of service among them. The head of the course was in charge of the entire course while his second in command was the overall head of the father's houses. They were assisted by the elders who were the heads of the rest of the fathers' houses of that course. These Chief men held the keys to the Temple when that family was on service. In reference to these terms Luke uses *e̓pistátēs* to describe Jesus in six places in his Gospel: (1) Simon speaks to him — 5:5; (2) The disciples address him — 8:24; (3) Peter uses it while the woman touches Jesus' garment — 8:45; (4) Peter and the making of the three Sukkah — 9:33; (5) The disciple John who saw someone casting out demons in Jesus' name — 9:49; (6) Ten leprous men who call him — 17:13. Our English translations of the Gospels always use 'Master' whenever èpistátēs appears. But in LXX and most places elsewhere, it is always translated as "superintendent" or 'chief'. For example, II Chronicles in LXX states:

> kaì ẽp aũtōn ẽpistátēs Chōnenías ò Leuítēs kaì Semeì ò ådelphòs aûtoũ diadexómenos. (31:12-13)
>
> And Chonenias (Johanan) the Levite was superintendent over them and Semei (Symeon) the brother of him succeeded him.

Vine notes that ẽpistátēs is always used by the disciples in addressing Jesus in recognition of his authority rather than his instruction. Josephus refers to Eleazar ben Ananias, who stopped the daily sacrifice for the Roman Emperor as the ẽpistátēs ('Governor of the Temple' — as translated by the Loeb edition of Josephus). Thus when Jesus' disciples are calling him ẽpistátēs they are doing so in recognition of him as the superintendent of all their priestly fathers' houses. Another word prostátēs has been demonstrated by many scholars, such as Schurur and Frey, to mean the same as the Latin patronus.[43] When translated to the Judaean scene a patronus probably equals the head of a father's house.

This interpretation of Jesus as the head of a priestly father's house in place of John the Baptist is supported by material from I Clement:

> 'Iēsoũn Christón, tòn ảrchieréa tõn prosphorõn hmõn, tòn prostátēn kaì boēthòn tẽs ảstheneías hmõn. hós'õn ảpaúgasma tẽs megalosúnēs. (36:1-2)

As is well known, Christón means 'the anointed one' in Hebrew. To be anointed was not too unusual since most kings and priests were anointed. Priests were anointed with oil in the shape of a chi (X) while kings were anointed with Balsam over their heads in the shape of a wreath. Saul was the first to be called Christ (the anointed one).[44]

II Maccabees states:

> Aristoboúlō̧ didaskálō̧ Ptolemaíou toũ basiléōs, ʼónti dè ʼapò toũ tō̃n christō̃n ʽieréōn génous, kaì toĩs èn Aigúptō̧ Ioudaíois. (1:10)
>
> To Aristobulus who is of the family of *the anointed priests*; teacher of Ptolemy the King and to the Jews of Egypt.

According to Zeitlin, in this context 'anointed priests' (*Christō̃n*) means "of the family of Zadok who were anointed, while the priests of the Hasmonean family were not anointed. Aristobulus might have been of the stock of Ezechias (Hezechiah) the High Priestly family, who were brought to Egypt by Ptolemy Soter after he had taken Jerusalem in the year 300 B.C.".[45] The Greek of this passage in II Maccabees is *Christō̃n*, as it is in I Clement. Thus the usage of 'anointed' in Clement probably means that Jesus was a Zadokite priest. This is supported by the Greek which follows *tòn ʼarchieréa* (the High Priest) and thus we can see that Jesus was called the anointed High Priest.

Prostasian (or *prostátēs* as in Clement) is "used by Josephus in relationship to Joseph the Tobiad and may be translated 'chief magistracy' (a synonym for the High Priestly office)".[46] Schalit in *Konig Herodes* agrees with Marcus' interpretation of *prostates* where he states: "the brother of Menelaus, Simeon, had already been appointed to the high office of chief of the Temple (*prostates tou ierou*)".[47]

The Torah makes clear what is required of the anointed priest:

> The priest who is chief among his brethren, upon whose head the anointing oil is poured, and who has been consecrated to wear the garments, shall not let the hair of his head hang loose, nor rend his clothes; he shall not go in to any dead body, nor defile himself, even for his father or for his mother; neither shall he go out of the sanctuary, nor profane the sanctuary of his God; for the consecration of the anointing oil of his God is upon him; I am the Lord. And he shall take a wife in her virginity. A widow, or one divorced, or a woman who had been defiled or a harlot, these he shall not marry; but he shall take

> to wife a virgin of his own people, that he may not profane his children among his people; for I am the Lord who sanctify him. (Leviticus 21:10)

Since these stringent rules did not apply to the rest of the population it is now possible to look at the above paragraph and see how much of it applies to the events of Jesus' life from his birth to his death. Jesus' position as the head of a priestly division will be discussed later.

If Jesus was an e̓pistátēs and a prostátēs at different times in his life he must have been well enough known to be remembered, and Jewish sources do remember him as well as his family. The Talmud tells us that "With Jeshu (Jesus) it was different, for he was connected with the government".[48] This can not refer to Herod's government since Herod is quoted as saying: "I am afraid of the government".[49] As the chief of the fathers' houses and as a substitute High Priest Jesus would be considered to be "close to the government". There is much evidence to support this view. We need to ask what does 'close to the government' mean and was this said about any contemporary of Jesus? Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel was a contemporary of Jesus and is mentioned in the following passage in the Talmud:

> Rabbi Judah in the name of Ishmael [Judah was Ishmael's disciple], in the name of Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel: ...'There were a thousand pupils in my father's house [his priestly family group] five hundred studied the Torah and five hundred studied Greek wisdom, and of these (those who studied Greek wisdom) there remain only I here and the son of my father's brother who is in Asia. [Judah continues] It was different with the household of Rabban Gamaliel because they had close associations with the Government ... They permitted the house of Rabban Gamaliel to study Greek wisdom because they had close associations [business and political dealings] with the Government.[50]

Another section of the Talmud states: "Abtolemos [Ptolemy — note the

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exchange of Ab for P — was the son of Reuben (Rufus)] was permitted to wear a coma, to cut his hair in the Roman fashion, because he was close to the Government".[51] Abtolemos was cited elsewhere in the Talmud for behaving as a Roman Senator, but it is not known whether he really was a Senator as were members of Herod the Great's family. All these examples show that the statement that "Jesus was close to the Government" can only be interpreted in one way. In addition, malkhut in every occurrence in the Talmud means the non-Jewish Government.[52] Why would Jesus, if he were an itinerant carpenter-preacher, be considered to be close to the Government'? In the other cases cited here the men were either priests, and/or government officials, who took an active part in the administration of the Roman province of Judaea. This would include the officials of the Temple and the priesthood since much of the economy of Judaea was connected with the Temple. The statement about Jesus points, once again, to Jesus' upper-class status.

The section on Abtolemos noted that he was permitted to wear a coma, which is to cut his hair in the Roman fashion.[53] Also the High Priest was not allowed to come before God unkempt and so during the first century A.D. he cut his hair in a coma during the week before Yom Kippur (The Day of Atonement).[54] The earliest representations of Jesus and his disciples in the catacombs of Rome show them with short Roman haircuts. In the past it has been assumed that this was because they were painted by Roman artists.[55] However, a closer look at the details of these drawings shows fringes and gamma's on Jesus' garments. This is an accurate portrayal of Jewish priestly garments and his robe is usually portrayed as full length, rather than as the more common, shorter Greek garment. Also an interesting, but challenging, phenomena is usually noted in the catacomb paintings. Jesus and his apostles are pictured as holding their fingers with their first and second fingers stretched out together while the thumb holds down the third and fourth fingers. Sometimes Jesus is pictured holding up both his hands in this fashion. This would be the priestly blessing which is being portrayed, for when both hands are held in front of one's body in this way they form the letter shin (w) which is the first letter of the pronounceable name of God (SHaddai).

The Talmud notes that the priests did not use their thumbs when forming the sign of the priestly blessing.[56] Today some Rabbis bless their congregations by using all the fingers of their two hands, fourth and third together and second and first together while the thumbs meet to form the shin. However, the Talmud is insistent on the point that the thumbs were not used. Evidence from Qumran supports the Talmud's opinion as do the presentations of paintings in the Roman catacombs. Another detail which points to Jesus as a priest and varifies the historical accuracy of the catacomb drawings is the fact that Jesus is portrayed as holding his hands at shoulder level. The High Priest was required to do this when he blessed the people because he was not allowed to raise his hands above the name of God which he wore on a golden plate on his forehead which had the letters YHWH engraved on it.[57]

As a priest, Jesus would be intimately involved in the Temple and the rites which were performed there. Epiphanius notes that the Ebionites thought that Jesus sought to abolish the sacrificial system:

"I have come to destroy sacrifices; and if you do not stop making sacrifices, the wrath [of God] will not leave you".[58] Since all the evidence in the Gospels points to Jesus' honoring the Temple and fulfilling the commanded sacrifices and ritual from his youth, there must be something else here. What Jesus is saying is what later Shammaite priests and members of the division of Abijah/Phabi advocated — the cessation of the sacrifices for the Emperor. Perhaps this is the meaning of the charge against Jesus — "forbidding us to give tribute (phorous — bringing anything in tribute) to Caesar". (Luke 23:2)

In 68-69 A.D. Eleazar ben Ananias who was mentioned earlier as a follower of Shammai persuaded his fellow priests to stop the daily sacrifices for the Emperor. Eleazar was the superintendent of the Temple. He was in charge of the daily operations of the Temple and this involved its finances and ritual. Josephus tells us that the Jewish community bore the expense for the sacrifices for the Emperor.[59] Therefore, this sacrifice was considered to be the public demonstration of Jewish loyalty to Augustus, the later Emperors and to Rome. Advocating its cessation was a clear announcement of rebellion against Rome. The Zealots in declaring that they have no King but God would and did declare these sacrifices to be in violation of the Torah.

Josephus tells us that some of the former High Priests (probably members of the House of Annas who always collaborated with Rome), the dynatoi (the descendants of Herod the Great and Agrippa I and II) and leading Pharisees tried to restore the sacrifices after Eleazar cancelled them.[60] They are said to have argued with the priests and Levites (thus the priests and Levites must have agreed to the stoppage of the sacrifices) that the offering of sacrifices for gentiles was legal because it allowed them to be subjected to God's laws and the possibility of conversion to Judaism. They said that to refuse to allow the sacrifice was the same as defying God. The Zealots and other religiously strict priests must have found these sacrifices for a gentile ruler who was worshipped as a God to be anathema.

What Epiphanius records is the remembrance of Jesus' urging the stoppage of the sacrifices for the Emperor and Rome. He would not try to stop the sacrificial system and yet encourage the leper to perform the required sacrifices and make positive statements about the Temple and its services to his disciples. This declaration about stopping the sacrifices for the Roman Emperor by Jesus would have drawn Zealots, like Judas Iscariot, to him for they would see him as advocating their cause. How was it possible, if Jesus was only a poor itinerant carpenter from the Galilee, that his advocating the cessation of a Temple sacrifice would have any import? The only people who had any control over the Temple sacrifices were the chief priests and a superintendent (*ẻpistátēs*) of the Temple like Eleazar. One must therefore conclude that the use of *ẻpistátēs* to describe Jesus refers to his position as chief priest.

If Jesus was a chief priest is there any evidence to show that he referred to himself as a priest? We will now examine two logia which demonstrate Jesus' membership in the priesthood. Matthew preserves a most interesting saying of Jesus:

> And having come (they) to Capernaum the men who received the didrachmas came to Peter and said "Your Master (*didáskalos*) does he not pay the didrachmas? He says 'Yes'. And he entered into the house. Jesus met him and said before Simon could speak "What

> think you Simon (How does it seem to you)?" The Kings of the earth from whom do they receive (claim) custom (for public purposes) or tribute (the census, registration of taxation or the tax itself)? From their sons or from strangers? Peter says to him [note that Jesus calls him Simon but the material added by the editor refers to him as Peter] 'From the strangers'. Jesus said to him, 'Truly free are the sons' (the sons are free from paying the custom). (17:24-26)

An analysis of this passage immediately presents problems. In his saying Jesus refers to the person he is speaking to as Simon; however, in the rest of the pericope he is referred to as Peter. It may be argued with caution that these statements were added by a later redactor of Matthew so that his readers might know that the Simon referred to was none other than Peter. We do not know that he was correct in this assumption for it could have been another Simon. If we remove the section which contain these additions we are left with:

> 'What do you think Simon?' The Kings of the earth from whom do they receive custom or tribute? From their sons or from strangers? Truly, the sons are free [from paying the custom or tribute].

This separation also removes the awkward statement where Jesus meets Simon and begins to answer before Simon even asks the question. What we have here is what Bultmann would call one of the original logia of Jesus around which a redactor has created an appropriate setting for his didactic purposes.[61]

However, the various analyses of this passage have focused on the use that the later church made of this passage rather than the historical context of Jesus' words. The Interpreter's Bible states that this passage differs from most of Matthew's special material because the passage probably had its origin in Palestine or Syria and seems to be a tradition recounted by Peter.[62] The article concludes that since

Jesus accepted Temple worship without question, he and his followers would scarcely have doubted their obligation to pay the Temple tax. We might ask that if this is so then how can Jesus say that 'the sons are free?' What would that mean? Montefiore in his definitive work on this passage concludes that the "true Sitz im Leben of Matthew xvii.24-7 is to be found in the ministry of Jesus himself".[63] Montefiore sees Jesus' response as a free-will offering which corresponds to a passage in Menahoth 65a (which G. F. Moore in his evaluation of Montefiore has called a foundation of sand). The Talmudic passage (Menahoth 65a) states that according to the Sadducees an individual may, of his own free will, defray the cost of the Daily Offering. But Montefiore does not investigate the origin of this saying and instead uses it to substantiate his tautological argument. He should have asked who were the Sadducees and why did they make such a ruling? Most Sadducees were from the priestly class. Their ruling had to do with the passage in Exodus which states that the half shekel tax was payable by all males of twenty and upwards, rich and poor alike.[64] Moses had commanded that each man had to pay the half shekel as atonement, or ransom money, to prevent divine displeasure. This money was to be spent on the upkeep and the services of the sanctuary. The priests were to be free from the tax since no property was given to them when the promised land was partitioned. It was not until Joshua took over leadership that the priests were given forty-eight cities and their pasturelands for their support. These were given them from among the lands of each of the tribes. In the Second Temple period Nehemiah had to reinstate the half shekel tax for two main reasons: (1) the Temple needed money to repair it and (2) the main body of the priests had been taken off into captivity and no longer had their lands. Though the tax was levied on males only, an ostrakon from Elephantine seems to indicate that women also, voluntarily, paid the tax; although this may only be the case if they were the head of a household. Samaritans and Gentiles were not permitted to contribute because the money was to be used for sacred purposes.[65]

Bultmann in *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* feels that even though the section itself could be classified as a legend, at its core is a saying of Jesus, "The brief dialogue of Verse 25 and the manner of its argumentation [a metaphor contained in a question and also the *tí soi dokeî*] gives an impression of age ...."[66] Bultmann also feels that the logion was used by the emerging Church to answer its followers' questions about the duty of paying the Temple tax. Bultmann states, correctly I think, that the section can not have had anything to do with the tax which the Jews had to pay to the Romans for Jupiter Capitolinus after the destruction of the Temple because the contrast of the Greek *Basileîs tē̂s gē̂s* would not apply. He concludes that the logion is pre A.D. 70.

G. D. Kilpatrick has pointed out that there are traces of Matthaean diction in the pericope and this suggests that he was the first to reduce the passage to its present written form. Kilpatrick noted that Matthew 17:24-26 forms a separate unit from verse 27 because it introduces a new 'motif'.[67] This substantiates my view that the switch in names from Jesus' address to Simon to the redactor's use of Peter separates the primary parts of the pericope from later additions.

What then could Jesus have referred to when he said "Truly, the sons are free". What were the historical circumstances of 7 B.C. to 40 A.D. which might shed light on the meaning of this logion? We know from the Mishnah and from Josephus that during this time there was a continuing debate over whether priests were required to pay the half shekel tax. The Sadducees and the Shammaite Pharisees claimed that scripture and precendent supported their view that as priests they were not to pay the tax.[68] However, a passage from Shekalim states:

> R. Judah said, 'Ben Bokri testified in Yabneh that a priest contributing the shekel commits no transgression.' Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai replied to Ben Bokri, 'Not so. On the contrary a priest failing to contribute his shekel violates the Law.'[69]

The priests were in some dilemma because if they contributed the shekel, the meal offerings brought by the community, now being from them too, would have to be consumed on the altar and they would lose their portions. Hillelite Pharisees like ben Zakkai insisted that they had to pay the tax. He may have had some political motive in mind because in so doing the priests would lose a good part of their income.

As can now be seen the only male Jew who was not required to pay the tax was a priest. Let us now go back and re-analyze the passage in this light. "What do you think Simon?" It is clear that the editor thought that this must have referred to Simon Peter, but we can not be sure. Though Jesus states that the sons are free, we do not know for certain if the portion added on reflects an authentic part of Jesus' remarks and so we can not know whether Simon Peter was considered a son also. Later I will present evidence which supports the view that Simon was also a 'son'. There is the possibility that the Simon to whom Jesus was speaking was his brother and, therefore, the 'sons are free' would be applied to him.

"The Kings of the earth" in this analogy refers to God's chief representative on earth — the High Priests who ran the Temple and were not subject to the tax. "From whom do they receive custom or tribute?". In the analogy under question this must refer to the shekel tax and the tithes. From whom would the High Priests receive tribute or custom? Certainly they would not have their sons pay since they were servants of God in the Temple too. "From whom do they receive custom or tribute?" refers to the fact that non-priests were required by God to pay the tax. Moses had told them that they had to do this as atonement or ransom money to God so as to prevent his displeasure. Thus Jesus' reply "Truly, the sons are free" must mean that he is stating that he agrees with the Shammaite and Sadducean view that the sons of the priests should not have to pay the tax. Jesus then states "But that we may not offend them" we shall pay the tax![70] Jesus is pressured into following the Hillelite Pharisees ruling and this will come up again when we examine the next logion.

Roland de Vaux states that all priests are called 'sons of Aaron' in Jesus' day, just as Elishabet is called a daughter of Aaron in Luke.[71] Jeremias also notes, when discussing a different problem, that the term is used in the Talmud — "Sons of the high priests made decisions in civil law".[72] Whether or not 'the sons of the high priests' refer to the high priests' sons or to the high priests themselves (as Jeremias says) does not affect the discussion here. We have reviewed his evidence in an earlier Chapter and it is enough to note that Jeremias states that the term bene kohanim gedolim (sons of the high priests) which is often used in Second Temple times is used in the historical circumstances of the first century A.D. He goes on to state that the term denotes not descent, but membership in a social class (such as the priestly class). Thus when discussing the saying of Jesus about the Temple tax it must be concluded that he referred to the sons of the High Priests, or at the very least, the sons of all priests, when he stated that 'the sons are free'. If the 'sons' are priests and Jesus is including Simon and himself in the statement then Jesus is here calling himself a priest.

We will now proceed to the second pericope and see if it also reduces to the fact that Jesus was a member of the priesthood. I have chosen a section from John so that it may become obvious that the priestly elements of Jesus' life are not reduced to one tradition or Gospel:

> [Jesus] rose from supper, and laid aside his garments; and taking a towel, girded himself about. Then he poured water into the basin and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel with which he was girded, and so he came to Simon Peter. He said to him, "Lord, do you wash my feet?" Jesus answered him "What I do you do not realize now, but you shall understand hereafter". Peter said to him, "never shall you wash my feet!". Jesus answered him, "If I do not wash you, you have no part with me". Simon Peter said to him, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head". Jesus said to him "He who has bathed needs only to wash his feet, but is completely clean; and you are clean, but not all of you". (13:1-20)

Using the same procedure as that which was used in analyzing the previous passage, I have already begun by reducing the passage as much as possible to its basic material. This was accomplished by excluding verses 1-3. These verses were excluded for two reasons: First, they are heavily laden with an analysis of the events yet to happen; and secondly, they have nothing to do with the circumstances of Jesus washing the disciples' feet. Versus 11-15 are obviously an explanation of the passage for those who knew nothing of the significance of washing feet.[73]

Most scholars, like Reverand James D. G. Dunn, have seen the washing of the disciples feet as a theologically eschatological event. As Dunn pointed out in his well written theological investigation, the meaning of this passage still intrigues NT scholars and so far no satisfactory explanation has been reached. The proposed hypotheses fall into two general categories:

1. Those like Boismard and Richter who see the hand of the redactor in the explanatory versus which follow the pericope of versus 1-10.. Dunn, on the other hand, argues for the unity of the passage.[74]

2. Then there is the problem of the symbolism of the passage. Sanders and Mastin see a reference to baptism, while Fridrichsen and Richter contend that Jesus is speaking against all cultic cleansing rites. Dunn's view is that "We may say with some confidence, therefore, that Jesus in washing his disciples' feet is acting out what his death will accomplish for his disciples. His death washes them clean".[75]

Such well known NT scholars such as Barrett, Lightfoot and Howard have interpreted the passage to refer to the coming crucifixion. While Bultmann gives a broader interpretation of the passage as Jesus' general service to man as the embodiment of 'the Word'. Robinson views the passage as part of Jesus' humble and loving service. Clearly there has been little agreement in analyzing this passage and no one has placed the washing of both hands and feet after one has bathed in its proper context.

As with the Temple tax episode, the basic question has not been asked: What is the historical setting of this episode? The setting has little to do with baptism or the ritual bath (mikvah). Nor is it connected with washing the hands before eating at table, since this became of central importance only after the destruction of the Temple when rabbinical traditions of cleanliness became the norm for most Jews. But the washing of feet had a singular and crucial importance for the priests as they served in the Temple. It is in a discussion of the washing of feet that we shall find the historical reality of Jesus' act.

The Mishnah tells us that ben Katin made a device (laver) for the Temple which had twelve spigots and that it allowed the priests to wash both their hands and feet at the same time. When the device was made is unknown. But the Mishnah explains that the laver was important because the priests were required to wash ('sanctify') their hands and feet with the water from the well under the Temple pavement each time they entered the Sanctuary or prepared a service. The machine was a valuable addition to the Temple because the twelve brethren of the chief priest who were chosen by lot to be occupied with the continual offering on any given day, could sanctify their hands and feet at the same time thus speeding up a considerably involved ritual.[76] Josephus mentions that the brazen lever was situated to the north of, but right next to, the 'water gate' entrance to the court of the priests. It was used for purification rites and had a basin beneath it which was made of brass like the laver. The priests used this basin to "wash their hands and sprinkle their feet".[77]

Louis Finkelstein, in his magnificent work on the Pharisees, discusses the injunctions regarding ritual cleanliness.[78] He notes that the pertinent Biblical passage commands Moses to set up in the tabernacle a brass laver:

> And thou shalt put it in between the tent of meeting and the altar and thou shalt put water there in; and Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet there at; when they go into the tent of meeting they shall wash with water, that they die not; or when they come near to the altar to minister, to cause an offering made by fire to smoke unto the Lord; so they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not. (Exodus 30:18-20)

Thus it was possible to be condemned to die ("that they die not") if the rites of cleanliness were not followed by the priests. As noted earlier the Oxyrhynchus Fragment states that Jesus was rebuked by a High Priest named Levi (Mattathias) for entering the Holy Place (the inner Temple of the sanctuary) without observing the rules of cleanliness.[79] Jews interpreted the passage from Exodus cited above to mean that three ablutions were required: (1) on entering the Temple courts the priest must bathe (note: not wash), (2) on approaching the altar to do service he must wash his hands and feet, (3) upon leaving the altar he must again wash his hands and feet. The Pharisees were concerned over this matter because the proper performance of the ritual by the priests insured the non-priests of God's blessings and forgiveness. The priests usually only purified themselves when they came to the Temple for their period of service. This meant that except for the two one week periods when it was their family's turn to serve, or during the three pilgrimage festivals, a priest would not be ritually pure. If he wished to eat the heave-offering in his home town all he had to do was bathe in the local mikvah just before nightfall. Therefore, the Pharisees when they attained primacy in the Government about 76 B.C., forced the priests to bathe upon entering the Temple precincts regardless of their state of purity. This ritual immersion however, did not relieve the priest from God's command to wash his hands and feet. He had to wash his hands and feet even after his bath, and before he approached the altar. After the sacrifice he cleansed his hands and feet from the sacrificial blood. Finkelstein argues that the priest who ate the sacrificial meat as well as the heave offering did not attach to them the same primitive identification with the holy 'other' that the layman endowed them with. once he had washed the priest felt that he was in a state of holiness all day. But the Pharisaic scribe contended that it was sacrilege for a priest to use his hands for both secular and ritualistic work without washing between chores.[80]

With the foregoing information we can now return to the passages from John and see if we can make some historical sense out of Jesus' words and actions. "He arose [as one arises from a bed] from the meal [not supper necessarily] and laid aside his garments and taking the linen with which he was engirded [engirdled]". The Greek word for rising indicates that Jesus was eating while reclining on a lounge as was the custom of the upper classes in the Roman and Hellenistic Empires. We know that Galilean Jews held a feast on the night before the Day of Atonement. The importance of this will be seen in the next Chapter. After he got up Jesus laid aside all the garments except for his linen girdle.

"Next he poured water into the washing basin and he began to wash the feet of the disciples and to wipe them off with the linen girdle". There is no mention of hands at this point and Jesus does not wash the disciples' hands. The key to this verse and verse four is the mention of the linen with which he was engirded. First of all, the very fact that Jesus was clothed in linen indicates that somehow he possessed enough money to afford undergarments made of the higher priced linen rather than homespun wool or some garment of mixed materials. A poor itinerant preacher or a poor carpenter from Nazareth would not be spending his precious few shekels on fancy clothing. But there was a group within Judaean society which was required by the Law to wear linen garments. These were the priests when they were serving in the Temple. As Josephus tells us, priestly garb consisted of special linen garments called Cohanaeae. The High Priests' garments were called Cohanaeae Rabbae or the garments of the Rabbi Priest.[81] After a priest sanctified himself with the rites of purification (water immersion) which the law required:

> in the first place, he puts on that which is called Machanase, which means something that is fast tied. It is a girdle, composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them, in the nature of breeches; but above half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs and is there tied fast. Over this he wore a linen vestment, made of fine flax doubled: it is called Chethone, and denotes linen, for we call linen by the name of Chethone. This vestment reaches down to the feet and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue and fine twined linen; but the warp was nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumvolution is at the breast; and when it has gone often round, it is there tied, and hangs loosely there down to the ankles: I mean this all the time the priest is not about any laborious service for in this position it appears in the most agreeable manner to the spectators but when he is obliged to assist at the offering sacrifices, and to do the appointed service, that

> he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it to the left and bears it on his shoulder. Moses calls this belt Abaneth; but we have learned from the Babylonians to call it Emia for so it is called by them. This vestment has no loose or hollow parts anywhere in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and is fastened above each shoulder: it is called Massabazanes. Upon his head he wears a cap, not brought to a conic form, nor encircling the whole head but still covering more than the half of it, which is called Masnaemphthes; and its make is such that it seems to be a crown, being made of thick swathes, but the contexture is of linen; and it is doubled round many times, and sewed together: besides which a piece of fine linen covers the whole cap from the upper part and reaches down to the forehead, and hides the seams of the swathes, which would otherwise appear indecently: this adheres closely upon the solid part of the head, and is thereto so firmly fixed, that it may not fall off during the sacred service about the sacrifices.[82]

The linen girdle which Jesus wrapped about himself fits our description from Josephus. It also makes sense that Jesus would go around in such a manner if he was a priest. Otherwise his behavior is hard to understand. Nakedness among groups of men was strictly regulated since it was associated with homosexuality. Only the priests went around clad only in their linen cloth breeches. They did this so as to keep their priestly garments clean for the service. This is why Jesus removed his garments before he washed the disciples feet.

The High Priests of the Second Temple period were called "High Priests by investiture" and they were regarded as of inferior rank to those who had been anointed by holy oil in earlier times. The Rabbis tell us that the common priests were not anointed even in the First Temple because the rite which had been applied to the sons of Aaron was valid for their descendants, and they did not need to be anointed. The four vestments which constituted the investiture of a post-exilic priest were made of byssus, a white and shiny cotton which came from Egypt. The fact that byssus, was a snowy and shiny white is symbolically important to the Temple ritual. The quality of bright and shiny clothing worn by priests in the Temple will come up again in the next Chapter.

If either a priest or the High Priest officiated without wearing his full complement of his vestment, or if anything intervened between his body and his garments, his service would be invalid. This would jeopardize cultic acts performed for the remission of sins and the salvation of the people. Equally important were the ritual washings which were mentioned earlier.

They also made certain that the priest offering the sacrifice to God was in a state of purity. At night, watches were set in the Temple with the Levites guarding all but three places. These were sections where the priests were required to stand watch: (1) the chamber of Abtinas which was where the High Priest slept (it was above the gate referred to as the 'water gate'); (2) the chamber of the spark, or flame, where the priests stood guard in the upper chamber above the portico while the Levites were below; and (3) the chamber of the hearth where the priestly elders slept on projections from the walls. During the night the superintendent of the Temple made his rounds to check on the guards. If any guard was found asleep on duty he was beaten and his garments were burned. Interestingly this episode coincides with a logion of Jesus: "Blessed are those servants [both the priests and Levites were known as the servants or slaves of God], whom the Lord when he comes shall find watching; truly I say to you that he will engird them himself and make them to recline and pass by those who would like to serve. And if he comes in the second watch, or in the third watch he comes unexpectedly and finds him in this manner (watching) blessed are those servants".[83] Jesus also mentions the beating that a sleeping watchman will incure later on in verse 47.

There is another passage in Revelation which applies here: "Behold, I come as a thief (unexpectedly!) Blessed is he that watches and keeps his garments, that not naked he may walk and they see his shame. And he gathered together them to the place which is called in Hebrew Armagedon".[84] The preparations for the service required that some of the priests had to be up before light began to show in the sky. The priest whose duty it was to superintend the arrangements might come at any moment he chose (as the time of sunrise changes) and then knock at the door where the priests were waiting and demand entrance. He came suddenly and unexpectedly as the following passage indicates:

> Anyone who desired to remove the ashes from the altar used to rise early and bathe before the superintendent [literally, the appointed one] came. At what time did the superintendent come? He came just at cock-crow, sometimes a little before or a little after. The superintendent would come and knock and they would open for him, and he would say to them, let all who have bathed come and draw lots. So they drew lots, and one or other was successful. He took the key and opened the small door and went from the fire chamber into the Azarah and the priests went in after him carrying two lighted torches. They divided into two groups...the one on whom the lot had fallen to clear the ashes from the altar made ready to do so. They said to him: 'be careful not to touch any vessel, until you have washed your hands and feet from the laver...no one entered with him, nor did he carry any light but he walked by the light of the altar fire. No one saw him or heard a sound from him until they heard the noise of the wooden machine which ben Katin made for hauling up the laver. When they said, the time has come — he washed his hands and feet from the laver...when his brethren saw that he had descended (from the ascent) they came running and hastened to wash their hands and feet in the laver.[85]

The superintendent when he came would say "All ye who have washed, come and cast lots". This was because the customary bath had to have been taken before the superintending priest came round, since it was a principle that none might go into the court to serve although he were clean, unless he had just bathed. They rose early and bathed in a subterranean bath room which was well appointed for their use. After this bath they did not need to bathe again all day except that they had to wash their hands and feet each time, however often, they came to serve in the holy parts of the Temple. As Edersheim noted, again without further comment, "It was, no doubt, to this that our Lord referred in His reply to Peter: 'He that is washed needeth not wash save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit".[86] Edersheim also noted that the hands and feet were washed by laying the right hand on the right foot and the left hand on the left. He says that "Perhaps this might therefore be appropriately described as washing 'the feet only' as is indicated by John 13:10.

"Then he came to Simon Peter and he said to him, 'In that manner Lord do you wash my feet'?" Simon is concerned with the manner of the washing, not with the fact that Jesus is washing the feet of his brethren. This will be explored in the following pages.

"Answered Jesus and he said to him, 'What I at least do thou knowest not now (just now), but you will know hereafter". Jesus is telling Simon that even though Jesus' way of washing the feet is different from that mode which Simon knows, he will soon know why this is so. "Peter says to him 'you may not wash my feet in this age". This piece could be a later addition due to the "in this age" comment and its implicit idea that the Messiah should not wash his servant's feet. This is also reflected later on in the verses which seem to have been added on to this pericope. "Jesus answers him 'If happily I do not wash you, you can not have a portion [part in the Temple service] with me'. Allowing the contention that this discussion is going on in the Temple, Jesus' reply is very clear, he is telling Simon that he can not serve with Jesus in the cleaning up of the ashes or the setting up of the wood for the morning sacrifice even if he has already had a bath unless he washes his feet at this time. In the earlier passage from the Talmud it was stated that "anyone who desired to remove the ashes from the altar used to rise early and bathe before the superintendent came". After they had been chosen by the lot they were warned not to touch any vessel until they had first washed their hands and feet in the laver. Thus Jesus is saying to Simon that even though he did bathe before the superintendent came he again had to wash his hands and feet. This is what Jesus means when he states that unless Simon does wash his hands and feet he can not have any part in the service.

As a result "Simon Peter says to him 'Lord not my feet only but also my hands and head'. Jesus now replies to Simon and indicates to him what the correct ritual is "Jesus says to him 'He that has freshed bathed has not the necessity other than the feet to wash, otherwise he is wholly (purified); and you are purified (clean), but not in every (pantes) way. Pantes has often been translated as "all" so that an easy transition can be made to the following discussion of who was to betray him.[87] This is no longer the only possible translation since we may now, with the foregoing explanations, reconstruct the historical reality of Jesus' words and actions. This pericope preserves convincing evidence for the view that Jesus was a priest as the preceding explanation has shown. Pantes must mean that Simon is not 'wholly' clean (purified) until he washes his hands and feet despite the fact that he has already bathed. Jesus is telling Simon that he is following the Hillelite Pharisaic, and not the Shammaite or Sadducean, injunction regarding ritual bathing. The redactor has taken this remembrance and explained it by having Jesus say "Do you know what I have done to you?" It now becomes clear that Jesus is instructing his new group of novitiates in the ritual of the Temple and this is why we have so many 'pronouncements' stories. As the ẻpistátēs Jesus was showing his novitiates how to act after the superintendent came round early the next morning. They would now know how to act and what ritual to follow.

Finally, it is important to explore one more aspect of the ritual. The superintendent "took the key and opened the small door and went" into the Temple court from the bet ha-moked (the hearth room where they slept). The small door was a wicket in the larger gates which were closed each night. Since the Temple was not yet open for service, the priests who began to work before dawn used this "small (narrow) door" to enter the inner parts of the Temple. A passage in Luke demonstrates Jesus' usage of his priestly background in teaching his disciples: "Strive to enter by the narrow door; for many, I tell you, will seek to enter and will not be able. Once the Master of the house [the Temple superintendent] gets up and shuts the door [the small wicket], and you begin to stand outside and knock on the door, saying 'Lord open up to us!"[88] This statement must have been made at about the same time when Jesus was washing his disciples' feet for he is telling them that a great many young priests lined up each morning to participate in the morning service preparations. So many wanted to participate that rules had to be made in order to avoid injury for once in the rush a priest had fallen off the ramp and was injured.[89] Jesus specifically tells them to enter by the narrow gate. Many scholars have found theological importance in this statement, but the historical reality is that the narrow gate must be the wicket in the Temple gates. This is supported by the use of oikodespótēs to refer to the 'master of the house'. Again it has been demonstrated that the words and actions of Jesus point to the fact that he was a priest. One final event will be explored in this Chapter as further proof of Jesus' membership in the priesthood.

As part of our demonstration that the priestly evidence is not confined to one Gospel a 'miracle story' from Mark will now be analyzed:

> And the apostles gathered together with Jesus; and they reported to him all that they had done and taught. And he said to them, "Come away by yourselves to a lonely place and rest awhile". For there were many people coming and going, and they did not even have time to eat. And when it was already quite late, his disciples came up to him and began saying, "The place is desolate and it is already quite late; send them away so that they may go into the surrounding countryside and villages and buy themselves something to eat". And he said to them, "How many loaves do you have? Go look". And when they found out, they said, "Five and two fish". And he commanded them all to recline by groups on the green grass. And they reclined in companies of hundreds and fifties. And he took the five loaves and the two fish and looking up toward heaven, he blessed the food and broke the loaves and he kept giving them to the disciples to set before them; and he divided up the two fish among them all. And they

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> all ate and were satisfied. And they picked up the twelve full baskets of the broken pieces and also of the fish. And there were five thousand men who ate the loaves. And after bidding them farewell, he departed into the mountain to pray. (Mark 6:30-31; 35-44; 46)

This 'miracle story' has been chosen to show how the historical reality of Jesus as priest can shed a great deal of light on the events of his life. All four Gospels preserve what has been called the 'miracle story' of Jesus and the loaves which satisfied a great crowd. In addition, both Mark and Matthew record two such stories about the feedings of crowds of four and five thousand each. Some have thought that this was due to Matthew copying Mark's mistake in recording the same tradition twice. We will show that this is not so. Bultmann believes that the feeding of the four thousand is but a variant of the feeding of the five thousand. He points out that the four thousand story has almost none of the editorial additions found in the other story. Also in the four thousand story there is no mention of fishes; if ichthudia in verse six is an addition as he thinks.[90] It has also been pointed out that the miracles concerning the bread seem to be patterned after the miracle where Elisha, the disciple of Elijah, increased the oil of the altar and the miracle where Elisha satisfied a hundred men with twenty loaves of barley.[91]

Some have suggested that the large number of men who were fed by Jesus that day were members of a nationalist rebellion, since in John 6:15 it states that they meant to come and seize Jesus to proclaim him King.[92] Others, like Philip Carrington place the feeding of the five thousand at Passover time and the four thousand at Pentecost. According to his critics, the problem with this theory is that it leads to the conclusion that Jesus' followers decreased as time went on. Theological interpretations usually state that the story is a symbolic picture of the way in which Jesus feeds the souls of men by his own self sacrifice and that the Holy Communion was in the Evangelists' mind when they wrote their stories. Others have seen in the two stories the successive spiritual feeding of the Jews and then the Gentiles.[93] The differences in the details of the two stories convey the impression that two distinct incidents are meant. One should also note that there is *no sign of bewilderment or astonishment on the part of those present*. Mark and Matthew record that Jesus later says: "When I broke the five loaves [notice that fishes are not mentioned!] among five thousand how many basketfuls of scraps did you pick up?" (Mark 8:19; Matthew 16:5-12) This suggests that, for Jesus, this was not some obvious miracle, but a 'sign'.

The disciples have come back from teaching and because there are many men coming and going Jesus tells them to go off by themselves to rest. The apostles also have not yet had an opportunity to eat. "His disciples came to him and said, 'Deserted [*e̓́rēmós* — in the sense of one party not appearing] is the place and it is already a late hour'. 'Dismiss [*a̓póluson* — to release from an obligation] them that they may go to the surrounding fields and villages that they may buy for themselves bread [again no mention of fish] for they do not have something to eat. The Greek word used here for bread is *a̓́rtous* which is 'wheat' bread as opposed to *maza* which is'barley' bread. The same Greek word is used in Mark 2:26 when he is telling the story of David's eating the loaves of the presentation which are reserved for the priests. As is well known the Temple shewbread was made out of wheat not barley.

Jesus made them recline company by company. Father's Houses were divided into companies of hundreds and fifties. Notice that Mark does not include women. Only the priests ate in the Temple. The usual translation says that they lay down on 'green grass'; however, the Greek is *chlōrō̃* and can also mean 'pallid, pale, or bleached'.[94] In Revelation 6:8: 'behold a pale (*chlōrós*) horse", *chlōrós* obviously does not mean 'green'. *Chórtōͅ* is usually translated grass, but it can also mean 'the feeding enclosure'.[95] Thus what we probably have here is the mention of the bleached (as it was white-washed before each festival) enclosure where the priests ate the shewbread. This area was between the porch and the altar and was also called the 'pavement'.[96]

When Jesus leaves all the Gospels record that he departed *into the mount* to pray. No Jew would go into a cave or tunnel in a mountain to pray so our answer must lie elsewhere. A look at Hebrews will give us a clue for there the word refers to the Temple mount. The Talmud tells us that 'the holy mount' is the Temple. While the Psalms tells us "Who shall ascend *into the mount* of the Lord?" Deuteronomy shows that 'the Mount' always refers to the Temple. Thus the setting for the feedings of the five and four thousand must be the Temple mount.[97]

The historical key to this passage is the changing of the priestly courses on the Sabbath in the Temple. The Law permitted the priests to perform all the work associated with the altar even on the Sabbath. For example, the daily sacrifice was slaughtered, the incense was offered and the bread of the presence (since Luther's translation of the Torah it has most often been called the shewbread – from the German *schaubrod*) was renewed by the incoming course. The bread had been baked on Friday since it was one of those things not allowed on the Sabbath.

The shewbread was made of the finest wheat flour and was arranged in two piles of six loaves each. Each cake was made of two omers of wheat (10 Pints). Between the two piles of bread rested two bowls of pure incense, and according to Egyptian tradition, salt was placed there too. The cakes were anointed in the middle with oil in the form of a cross (†). They were five handbreadths wide (a handbreath equals about 10 inches) and ten handbreaths long with turned up edges. The cakes were changed each Sabbath and the old bread was distributed among the outgoing and incoming priests — the incoming priests stood at the north side and the outgoing at the south side. The shewbread was eaten on the Sabbath, and in the Temple itself, but only by priests who were in a state of Levitical purity.[98]

The passage begins with Jesus' apostles (not the disciples) telling him about all the things that they had done that day and what they had taught. The historian must ask who and what did they teach and where and when? Jesus tells them to set themselves apart from the others and rest a little because "there were many coming and many going" and they (the apostles) had not even had the opportunity to eat. The reference to the many who were coming and going refers to the changing courses of the priests.

Jesus tells his apostles to "Give them yours to eat". Obviously, Jesus knew that they had something to eat since he then says "How many loaves have you?". The answer in Mark seems strange since they were asked about loaves and reply "Five and two fishes". It seems that the later work of a redactor can be seen here since it is precisely here that the other accounts of the feeding vary with Mark. John states that the event happened just before the Passover (and as we know Jesus' course served the week just before Passover) and that in reply to Jesus' questions a young boy (a novitiate) brings five loaves.

Jesus 'orders' (arranges) the men who are present in a military way, company by company. This is the manner in which the priests were ordered – watch by watch. Why, if the crowd were only a multitude of men (or even women and children), would Jesus bother to order them into companies? Can you imagine the time necessary to inquire and then place four or five thousand souls? More than likely the men were arranged according to their daily course and then within that course. The words for 'by companies' and 'in ranks' can not be easily dismissed since they are stated in a favorite Hebrew linquistic method – they are repeated for emphasis in the same way that duo duo in Genesis is used to explain how the animals are ordered in the ark.[99]

We next read that Jesus looked up into heaven (a̓nablépsas). During the ceremony of the shewbread the priest lifted the loaves over his head and looked up to heaven as a salute to God, he then blessed the bread and broke the loaves into small fragments which he gave to his assistants who then gave them to the waiting daily course.[100] This fits exactly what we are told that Jesus did "Having looked up into the heaven he blessed and fragmented the loaves and gave them to his disciples that they might set before them". We are told that everyone eats and 'is satisfied'.

The reason why there are two similar feeding stories is not due to the variance of traditions about a single event but because there really were two feedings. The priests, as can be seen, ate the shewbread on the Sabbath they began their service and on the Sabbath they concluded their work. The incoming course received seven loaves to share on the north side while the outgoing course received five loaves to share on the south. This change in courses occurred at mid-day just as the sun began its downward course. Thus Matthew and Mark preserve a correct tradition since they have feedings involving five loaves at one time and seven at another.[101] Jesus blessed and shared out the shewbread both when his course entered the Temple and when they departed.

The rest of the solution to this pericope can be seen in Mark 8:21 where Jesus asks his disciples how they can not understand about the bread (notice Jesus does not mention the fish) and the satisfaction of those who ate. The Talmud relates that in the days of Simeon 'Onias, who was called 'the Just', "a blessing was sent upon the 'Omer, upon the two loaves and upon the shewbread, so that every priest who obtained an olive's bulk, ate it and became satisfied, while some ate and had some left over. Afterwards a curse was sent upon the 'Omer, the two loaves and the shewbread so that a priest received a piece as small as a bean: the modest priests refrained from taking it and the voracious ones took and devoured it".[102] We have already discussed Jesus' relationship to Simeon 'Onias. Here we have in the NT a remembrance of Jesus' being able to work a miracle in imitation of that which occurred in Simeon's day. The blessing of God had returned with Jesus because he was able to feed thousands and yet have baskets of bread left over — "all ate and were satisfied". Thus Jesus' remark about his disciples not understanding the significance of what had happened is very intelligible and the fact that he uses the term 'satisfaction' as does the Talmud is not just a coincidence. The disciples are unfamiliar with the story about Simeon and the shewbread and this is the cause of their lack of understanding the 'sign' which Jesus has just performed.

This Chapter has shown that by knowing the historical background to the events of Jesus' life it is possible to discover information about his socio-economic origins. This background also allows us to correct some mis-interpretations of his actions. The NT is replete with evidence for the priestly background of not only Jesus but his disciples as well. The next Chapter will show how Jesus as the chief priest (*e̓pistátēs*) of Abijah/Phabi performed the required services at the feast of Sukkah.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

[1] Schwabe, Beth Shearim, p. 28; Luke 1:59; Matthew 2:23; Brown, Birth, pp. 130-131.

[2] Brown, Birth, p. 131.

[3] Philo, De Mutatione Nominum 12:121 on Numbers 13:16.

[4] James Barr, "The Symbolism of Names in the Old Testament," The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. 52 (1969-70), p. 15.

[5] b. Rosh Ha Shannah 18a and Jeremias, Jerusalem, p. 104.

[6] Leon, p. 114.

[7] Josephus, Antiquities 8:1.

[8] Hervey, p. 139.

[9] Robert R. Wilson, "The Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research," Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 94 #2 (June, 1975), p. 173.

[10] Ibid., p. 180.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Hervey, p. 133.

[13] Luke 20:42; Matthew 22:44; Mark 12:36.

[14] Josephus, Life:2.

[15] Marshall D. Johnson, The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies (Cambridge, 1969), p. 180.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Hervey, p. 136.

[18] Johnson, p. 180.

[19] Josephus, Antiquities 8:1.

[20] Eusebius', Ecclesiastical History (Grand Rapids, 1977), I:7:5.

[21] Johnson, p. 190.

[22] Louis Finkelstein, *Mabo le - Massektot Abot ve Abot d' Rabbi Nathan* (1950), pp. x-xi.

[23] Pirke Aboth 2:8

[24] II Baruch 53-74; I Enoch 91;93

[25] Josephus, *Antiquities* 247-251; especially note 'd' in Loeb edition.

[26] Johnson, p. 200; Brown, p. 81.

[27] Louis Finkelstein, *Mabo le - Massektot Abot ve Abot d' Rabbi Nathan* (1950), pp. x-xi.

[28] W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 302-304.

[29] Daniel 9:24; 12:7-12.

[30] Leviticus 12:1ff

[31] Jewish Encyclopedia - s.v. *Pidyon ha ben*

[32] Ibid.

[33] Brown, *Mary*, p. 153.

[34] Brown, *Birth*, p. 447; Jewish Encyclopedia - s.v. *Pidyon ha ben*

[35] Brown, *Birth*, p. 473.

[36] Luke uses a progression of words to show the changes in Jesus: *bréphos* (2:12, 16) means baby, *paidíon* (2:17, 40) means little child, and *paîs* (2:43) means young man. Luke makes this even more clear by stating in 2:40 that "the child (*paidíon*) grew (*núxanen*) and (*èkrataioûto*) became physically strong. Josephus in his *Vita* states "when I was a child (*paîs*) of about fourteen", thus he uses the same Greek word to refer to a young man who has already entered puberty.

[37] Acts 9:7 uses *synodia* to describe Paul's group on its way to Damascus.

[38] Josephus, *Vita*: 8-9.

[39] Alfred Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (Grand Rapids, 1979), p. 235.

[40] Brown, *Birth*, p. 475-476.

[41] b. Sukkah 55b-56b.

[42] R. J. Coggins, The First and Second Books of the Chronicles (The Cambridge Bible Commentary, Cambridge, 1976), p. 6-7.

[43] Leon, p. 191; Schurer, Gemeindeverfassung, 31 and III, 89, n. 52

[44] On Saul see: I Kings 7:5 (LXX); on translations see: Gareth Lee Cockerill, "Heb. 1:1-14, I clem. 36:1-6 and the High Priest Title," Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 97 no. 3 (September 1978).

[45] Solomon Zeitlin, The Second Book of Maccabees (New York, 1954), p. 103.

[46] R. Marcus, Josephus (Loeb ed.) VII, p. 84 note d.

[47] A. Schalit, Konig Herodes (Berlin, 1969), p. 308, note 580.

[48] b. Sanhedrin 43a.

[49] b. Baba Bathyra 4a.

[50] b. Sotah 49b; cf., Josephus, Antiquites 14:212.

[51] b. Baba Kamma 83a.

[52] Haim Cohn, The Trial and Death of Jesus (New York, 1977), p. 302.

[53] Jerome Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome (New Haven, 1971), pp. 178-187.

[54] Jeremias, Jerusalem, p. 157 notes that "the High Priest used to wear his hair in the so-called 'Julian style' cut very short"; b. Nedarim 51a; Ta'anith 17a p. 81.

[55] Pierre du Bourguet, La Pittura Cristiana Primitiva (Switzerland, 1965), pp. 46, 69, 126, 127, 141, 144, 158, 159.

[56] b. Tamid 28a.

[57] Edersheim, Temple, p. 170.

[58] Epiphanius, Against Heresies, XXX 16:5.

[59] Josephus, War, 2:409.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Rudolf Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition (Oxford, 1972), see "The Materials and the Task".

[62] The Interpreter's Bible - s.v. commentary on Matthew 17:24-26.

[63] H. W. Montefiore, "Jesus and the Temple Tax", New Testament Studies, Vol. 11 (1964), p. 71 - G. F. Moore's evaluation is included in this article.

[64] Exodus 30:11-16.

[65] Elephantine ostraka #8; cf., Montefiore, pp. 60-71.

[66] Montefiore, pp. 34-35.

[67] G. D. Kilpatrick, The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew (Oxford, 1946), p. 41.

[68] Finkelstein, Vol. II pp. 680-690; Ezekiel 45:17, 46:13.

[69] b. Shekalim Chapter 1, Mishnah 4.

[70] Matthew 17:27.

[71] de Vaux, p. 397; Luke 1:5.

[72] Mishnah Ketuboth 13:1-2.

[73] M. E. Boismard "Le Lavement des Pieds", Revue Biblique, Vol. 71 (1964), pp. 5-24; G. Richter, "Die Fußwaschung", Munchener Theologische Zeitschrift, Vol. 16 (1965), pp. 15 ff.

[74] James D. G. Dunn, "The Washing of the Disciples' Feet in John 13:1-20", Zeitschrift Fur Die Neutestamentliche, Vol. 61 (1970), pp. 247-252.

[75] Ibid., p. 249.

[76] b. Yoma 37a, 43b.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Finkelstein, Pharisees, pp. 272-279.

[79] Bernard Grenfell, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (London, 1898-1959), Part V, 1908 (840).

[80] Finkelstein, Pharisees, pp. 272ff.

[81] Josephus, Antiquities 3:151-158.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Luke 12:37.

[84] Revelation 16:15.

[85] Tamid 26a-29a.

[86] Edersheim, Temple, p. 149.

[87] Liddell and Scott, p. 592.

[88] Luke 13:22-25.

[89] b. Yoma 22a-22b.

[90] Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 217.

[91] William Barclay, Introduction to the First Three Gospels (Philadelphia, 1975), p. 36.

[92] S. G. F. Brandon, Jesus and the Zealots (New York, 1967), p. 352.

[93] Edersheim, Temple, p. 186-189.

[94] Liddell and Scott, p. 890.

[95] Liddell and Scott, p. 891.

[96] Tosefta Menahot 11:12-13; The Herodian Period, p. 292.

[97] b. Tamid; Psalm 24:3-4; Deuteronomy 9:9, 10:10; Hebrews 12:18; Leviticus 19:26 states 'Eat not on the mountains', as a command.

[98] Edersheim, Temple, p. 186.

[99] See LXX Genesis 7:9; In Hebrew it is repeated as Sh'nayim, Sh'nayim.

[100] Tosefta Menahot 11:12-13.

[101] Matthew 14:12-21 and Mark 6:30-44 on five loaves; Matthew 15:32-39 and Mark 8:1-10 on seven loaves.

[102] Yoma 39a.

Chapter 6

THE CLOUDS OF GLORY AND THE BRIDEGROOM OF THE LAW

This Chapter will show how knowing that Jesus was from a priestly family makes the events recorded in the NT more intelligible. Earlier Chapters have already covered some of the background necessary to explaining these events. It has been shown how knowing that Jesus came from the priestly family of Abijah/Phabi makes clear the historical events of Jesus' life. It will now be demonstrated that by knowing that Jesus was a Chief Priest (*e̓pistátēs*) it is possible to more correctly order, as well as explain, these events.

The course of Abijah/Phabi served as the duty course in the Temple during the following weeks: Tishri 16-23 and Iyyar 8-15 in an ordinary year; and Nisan 7-14 and Heshvan 17-24 in an intercalated year. Tishri 16-23 encompasses the last seven days of the Feast of Tabernacles (Sukkah) including the day called Hosha'na Rabbah and the eighth day which has two names — The Eighth Day of Assembly (Shemini Atzereth) and Rejoicing in the Giving of the Law (Simhat Torah).[1]

Tishri was the post-exilic name of the seventh month of the Hebrew calendar. Its name was derived from the Aramaic *Shera (Sherei)* and means 'to begin'. The priests who returned from exile brought the Babylonian calendar system back with them. The Babylonian calendar began in the Fall month which corresponded to the seventh Hebrew month. As a result Tishri became the beginning of the year for all legal documents and for counting the years of a King's or a High Priest's reign. The religious year continued to start in the Spring. The tenth day of Tishri was called The Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), the fifteenth day was the first of eight days of Sukkah, and the eighth of these days – the twenty-first of Tishri – was called The Great Hosha'na (Hosha'na Rabbah), the twenty-second day of Tishri had two names – Shemini Atzereth (The eighth day of Assembly) and Simhat Torah (Rejoicing in the Giving of the Law). According to the Book of Jubilees, Abraham began Sukkah, and Jacob began Shemini Atzereth which was also called "Addition". This was because Shemini Atzereth was 'added' every four years in order to make the days correspond with the sun's movements.[2]

The third of Tishri was observed in NT times as a minor feast in commemoration of the omission of the Hasmonean title "Priest of the Most High God" (modeled on the title of Melchizedek – Malki Zedek – in Genesis 14:18) from the dating of secular documents in the terms of the era of the regnal years of the Hasmonean Priest-Kings.[3] In later years this day reverted back to what it represented before the Hasmonean Kings – a fast in commemoration of the assassination of Gedaliah. Before we examine some of the events of Jesus' life in relation to the holy days of Tishri we need to consider certain aspects of the holy days themselves.

The first holy day we will look at is Yom Kippur. During NT times Yom Kippur was the holiest day of the year. It was often known as 'The Great Day' or more simply 'The Day'. According to Philo even the Jews in the Diaspora spent the entire day in their synagogues.[4] Most importantly, this was the day on which the High Priest obtained the remission of sins committed in the previous year and asked God for blessings on the coming year. The High Priest usually spent the six days before Yom Kippur practicing the offering of the daily sacrifices and incense. He did this so that he would be perfectly prepared on Yom Kippur and not make any mistakes in the service on that day. The morning of the day before Yom Kippur the High Priest stood at the Eastern gate of the Temple and the various animals which were to be used as sacrifices the next day were led before him. That evening everyone ate a large meal in preparation for the fast the next day. The High Priest was kept awake all night so that he did not unknowingly defile himself during the night and thus render his services invalid before God. He practiced gathering up handfuls of incense in preparation for the ultimate moment of his life when he entered the Holy of Holies and came face-to-face with God. When the first light of morning illuminated the hilltop of Hebron it was announced that "The hour has come for the services to begin".[5]

The holy days of Tishri actually began with Elul 1, the first day of the month which preceed Tishri. Tradition held that Moses had spent these forty days on Mount Sinai praying and asking God for assistance. This custom persists even in our own time where in Europe and in the more traditional Jewish communities in America, the Sabbath before the start of Elul is exalted above other pre-New Moon Sabbaths. During these forty days many Jews fast, recite prayers of confession and appeals for pardon called S'Lichot. The shofar (ram's horn) was blown on the first of Elul and Psalm Twenty-Seven was recited. People made special trips to the graves of their loved ones to whiten their markings. This was done so that a priest or Levite might not be defiled and therefore be found unable to serve in the Temple due to touching or walking upon an unmarked grave. Thus Luke's comments that Jesus spent forty days in fasting, prayer and being tempted before he began his 'ministry' could be in reference to this religious tradition.[6]

We know that John baptized Jesus and then they (John and Jesus) heard a voice stating that Jesus was his (God's) beloved son. (Matthew 3:17) John then states that Jesus ranks before him. This is supported by the entire first section of Luke which seems dedicated to proving that Jesus is John's legitimate successor. The infancy narratives demonstrate the reasons behind the why and how of Jesus taking John's place. Later on we have the crucial statement which definitely supports this view: "Was the baptism of John from heaven or from men? Answer me!" (Mark 12:30) Jesus has just entered the Temple and the chief priests come up to him and ask him by what authority he is doing these things ('doing', *not saying* these things; so he is performing acts in the Temple) or who was it who gave him the authority to do them? Since the priests were in charge of policing the Temple, its ritual, and the priests who worked there it is natural that they should ask Jesus these questions when they saw him cleansing the Temple in preparation for the holy ceremonies of Yom Kippur.

The greek word *e̓xousía*, which is used for 'authority' in all three synoptic Gospels most often means 'the power of ruling' or 'governing', or the power of one whose will and commands must be obeyed by others.[7] Thus the elders of the priests, who also make up the Council of the

Priests are asking Jesus how he got to be the head of the course of Abijah/Phabi in John's place and why he is performing certain rituals in the manner he has chosen.

In the morning of the day before Yom Kippur the High Priest stands at the Eastern gate of the Temple and the animals which are to be used for the sacrifices the next day are led before him. There, at the gate, he examines lepers and practices the healing rites of the priesthood on those who are brought before him.[8] When John is arrested and Jesus substitutes in his place as the chief priest of their course, John's associates come to Jesus and ask: "Are you of the coming (daily priestly group) or of the leaving (group which is) tarrying". (Matthew 11:3) Jesus is being asked if he is a member of the incoming priestly watch or a member of the group which is supposed to leave, but is (tarrying) waiting. Jesus' reply is that he is performing the duties of the head priest by declaring lepers clean and by healing those temporarily without sight. This can be substantiated by two examples from the Gospels themselves. The first has to do with the 'cleansing' of the leper. 'Cleansing' is the correct translation for that was one of Jesus' responsibilities as the chief priest of his division.

The actual judgment as to the existence of leprosy always belonged to the priest though he might consult others. According to the Hillelites, care was to be taken that no part of the examination of the leper took place on the Sabbath or on feast days, and it was here that Jesus fell afoul of that faction of the Pharisees and caused them to 'murmer against him' as an heretic.[9] The specified ritual stated that the priest was to stand at the door of the Temple, look at the man and tell him "You are clean", or that he had to be observed further. Thus when the man came to Jesus, bowed down before him as a man might do when he was before the High Priest, the son of God, and said "Lord if you will, you are able to cleanse me". According to the Gospels Jesus stretched out his hand to touch the leper. This would correspond to the ritual where the priest must check for the color and texture of the skin. Then Jesus said, "I will (I wish to). You are clean". He then tells the man to go show himself to the priests and offer for his cleansing that which was ordered by Moses. The word which has always been translated as "show" is deizon but it can mean to 'point out', to 'make known something or someone to someone (else)'.[10] Thus Jesus is telling the leprous man that according to his investigation, he (the man) is ritually clean and now he is to fulfill the rest of the ritual which is as follows:

> When the priest had pronounced the former leper as clean with the words "He is clean" he was sent on to other priests where a quarter of a log of 'living water' [water which had not stood for more than the required time] was poured into an earthenware dish. Then the cleansing sacrifice was offered; two clean birds were to be used, one was killed over the living water so that the blood dropped into it and the carcass was then buried. Then cedar-wood, hyssop and scarlet wool were taken and tied together [as at the burning of the Red Heifer] and dipped along with the living bird in the dish. The person to be purified was sprinkled and the living bird was set free towards the fields and the former leper was then shaved with a razor [all over his body]. Then he washed his clothes and bathed.[11]

Only priests were allowed by the law to proclaim a leper clean, and our only references as to which priest performed the ritual name either the High Priest, his substitute, or the Rab (Elder) who was the Head of the Father's House which was serving in the Temple during that week. Again we have another event recorded in the Gospels which supports my view that Jesus was a chief priest and performed certain rites in the Temple in Jerusalem.

The second example which shows Jesus performing the rites of the chief priest is the passage referring to the adulteress:

> But Jesus went to the Mount of Olives [to his relatives in Bethany to sleep]. And at dawn he came again into the Temple, and all the people came to him; and having sat down he was teaching them. The scribes and the Pharisees brought him a woman who had been taken in adultery and set her in the middle (midst) of their group. They said to him "Teacher, this woman was taken in the very act of committing adultery. Now in the law Moses commanded us that such are to be stoned: Therefore what do you say?" [John tells us that they said this to tempt him. One might very well ask; tempt him to do or say what?] But Jesus having stooped down wrote with his finger on the ground. But as they continued asking him having lifted himself up he said to them "The sinless one among you let him cast the first stone at her." And again he stooped down and wrote on the ground. But they having heard and being convicted by their own conscience they went out, one by one, beginning from the elders [not older ones as some scholars would have us read] until the last. And Jesus was left alone with the woman standing in the midst [since everyone is gone she can no longer be in the midst of the crowd or group, but *mésō* must signify a *place*]. Jesus lifted himself up and seeing no one but the woman [no witnesses were present] said to her "Woman where are your accusers, no one condemns you?" And she said, "No one Sir". And Jesus said to her "Neither do I condemn you, go and sin no more". (John 8:1-11)

A closer look at this passage reveals that Jesus' actions closely parallel that of the High Priest, or in his absence the chief priest of the course on duty, when confronted with a woman suspected or caught in the act of adultery. When a woman was caught in the act there was no need for the chief priest to warn her of the terrible consequence of a false profession before God before they began the rites. The chief priest wrote the words of the required curse upon a papyrus roll and then he took water which was from the laver in which the daily impurities of the priests were cleansed. He bent down (head downwards) and put into the mixture some holy soil from the Temple sanctuary floor.

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A piece of tile was purposely left loose so that soil might be gathered from beneath it. Then he washed the writing of the curse in this mixture. The woman would then drink the mixture which, it was believed, could do no harm to one who was innocent. According to the Mishnah, a wife could not be brought before this trial unless her husband had, in the presence of two witnesses, previously warned her against intercourse with the man whom he suspected. Also, two witnesses had to report that she had contravened his injunction. If, after this, she continued her ways her husband had to first bring her before the Sanhedrin of his own toparchy who, if she were found suspect, would send the couple and two of their members to Jerusalem where they had to appear before the Great Sanhedrin. If possible, the Jerusalem Sanhedrin tried to make the accused confess and the threat of drinking the holy mixture was one of the means used. The trial by the waters of jealousy was abolished by Johanan ben Zakkai a few years after Jesus' death.[12]

If we review John we can see that there is a close connection here. Verse 8:2 has been translated to say 'having sat down' where a more exact meaning would be: "And at dawn he came once more into the Temple and all the people came to him and sitting down in order he instructed them". Thus we know that the assembled sat in a certain order. Verse 8:3 usually is translated that 'having placed her in the midst'. But e̓n mésõͅ according to Liddell and Scott means 'in the space between'.[13] Now it is known that the place where the Sanhedrin met was divided into two sections because the priestly group sat in the holy part of the Temple where only priests could set foot. The non-priests sat on the other side of the circle in the Court of the Israelites. Thus as John

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tells us the woman was placed *ẻn mésǭ* in the space between these two groups. The elders of the priests who formed the Council and the elders of the non-priests marched in and out of the Sanhedrin meetings in order of their rank and this was copied in the Synagogues of the first century. John tells us that since two witnesses did not appear to testify and the woman did not confess, the Sanhedrin filed out beginning with the elders and ending with the lowest in rank (the last).

When the Gospel says that Jesus stooped he was probably picking up the pinch of earth from the Temple floor and then when he stooped again he was writing on the papyrus. But he did not give her the trial by the waters of jealousy. Instead, when the two necessary witnesses did not appear, Jesus released her with the words "sin no more". This meant that he considered that she was guilty of the act but by law she must be set free. We can see, therefore, that Jesus' message to John means that he is performing the necessary duties of the chief priest.

If Jesus was the Chief Priest of Abijah/Phabi he must have performed some of the rites for which the chief priests were responsible. One of the best known events in Jesus' life illustrates this point. The Gospels provide us with a great deal of historical information regarding what has been called 'the transfiguration'. Commentators usually focus on the continuity of the accounts of the transfiguration with the pronouncement of Simon Peter, or they try to demonstrate that the transfiguration is based on an appearance made by Jesus after his crucifixion. A study of the transfiguration will add to our knowledge of the where, when and why of Jesus' 'ministry'.

First of all it is possible to assert that according to all of the synopticists the 'transfiguration' took place at, or around, Tabernacles (Sukkah). We know this because we are told in all three Gospels that Peter states: "Master (*e̓pistáta!*) let us make three booths".[14] The only season when booths were made was at the Feast of Tabernacles (Sukkah) which took place in the Fall at the Autumnal equinox. Some might argue that an agricultural people could make a booth to sleep in the fields at any time of year. A. D. Bruce notes the use of the deliberative substantive in the verse and says that it does Peter no credit for "the whole scheme is a stupidity".[15] A more historical explanation is available and will soon become clear. The immediate question is why would Peter want to make three booths when one would be enough for, as Bruce says, the group to get together and converse over supper. The task of building three booths requires resources and energy and there must be a logical solution to Peter's statement.

By knowing that the event is taking place during Sukkah it is possible to see that Peter is stating the commonly held tenet that the Torah commanded that each man and his family must have their own booth (Sukkah) to dwell in during the Festival. It was permissible to share meals with others in their Sukkah, but each man had to build one for himself in order to fulfill the Law. Therefore, Simon Peter is saying that he will build one each for the two 'angels' and one for Jesus. This would fulfill the law. Yet this ruling was also the cause of dissension between the Shammaites and the Hillelite Pharisees. Shammai said that a Sukkah could not be made during the intermediate days of the festival, but only during the days which followed Yom Kippur and proceeded Sukkah itself.[16] For it is a duty to build the Sukkah on the day immediately following Yom Kippur even if it was the eve of the Sabbath, for when one has an opportunity to fulfill a commandment he should not delay. Thus the statement that Peter did not know what he was saying makes sense if he was proposing to build them after the time allowed by the Shammaites. Peter had not gone temporarily insane, nor was he an unintelligent man. Rather later generations, unable to fit the historical context with the comment made by Peter saw him that way.

All three Gospels are at pains to mention the exact number of days between some event (usually thought to be Peter's declaration) and the 'transfiguration'.[17] This is especially unusual for Mark who has little regard for exact dates and usually states something like 'immediately' or 'it came to pass'.[18] Mark and Matthew say that six days elapsed, while Luke states that it was eight. If Jesus' priestly course began its tour of duty on the 16th of Tishri then the 'after six days' recorded by Matthew and Mark makes historical sense. Six days after Yom Kippur was the 16th of Tishri, the day on which Jesus as Chief Priest began his Temple 'ministry'. Or it could be in reference to the week before Yom Kippur when the High Priest resided in the Temple and prepared for his crucial performance on the holiest day of the year. More work needs to be done to determine which one was the actual circumstance.

Luke tells us: "And it came to pass that about eight days after these words he took (paralambanei) Peter, James and John and went up into the mount to pray". (Luke 9:28) As discussed earlier, 'into the mount' in a Jewish context can only refer to the Temple itself. Praying in a cave is a mystery cult practice and Moses and Elias would never be involved in a pagan mystery cult. Luke is again historically accurate here as we know that the High Priest was accompanied by three men when he entered the holy section of the Temple. One walked on each side of him and a third trailed behind.[19] The High Priest had a set of rooms in the Temple where he lived during the day, but at night he was free to retire to his own house which had to be within the Sabbath limits of Jerusalem. This is why Jesus went to the Mount of Olives each night for he went to Bethany to the house of his relatives.

That the transfiguration took place in the Temple in Jerusalem is substantiated by II Peter 1:16-18. The entire epistle is written as a proclamation as an encyclical is today. They are usually inspired by a particular holiday which is soon to happen or has just passed; in this case it is Yom Kippur and Sukkah. Thus Peter writes:

> For we were not following out cleverly devised fables when we made known to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus, the Christ [the anointed one], but we were eyewitnesses of His majesty [grandeur, authority of sovereign power]. For having received [invested with] from God, the Father, honor and glory, and a voice brought it to him by the Majestic [splendid] Glory in the bright cloud that overshadowed him, saying 'This is my son, the beloved [Jedidiah] in whom I have found delight. And this voice we heard from Heaven brought with him (Jesus) being on the holy mount.[20]

The objections against this epistle actually being Peter's can no longer be substantiated. In fact it seems that the so-called 'First' epistle of Peter is of later origin or it has been amended to fit later theology. In fact, II Peter upsets scholars specifically because: (1) it does not contain more than one reference to what has been called Gospel history; (2) there is only one reference to the actual words of Jesus, and (3) there is no mention of the passion or resurrection or the risen lord concept.[21] This argument seems the reverse of what would be true

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in an early epistle, for it was only later when the last days did not come immediately as Jesus had said they would, that Gospel history and the passion and the resurrection became most important.

The scholars who argue for the lateness of II Peter also rest their belief on the fact that sknṓmati, skēnṓmatós, and e̓́xodon occur together as they do in the Synopticists. But if exodon was the proper Greek word to use to describe the procession which was to follow why would Peter's use of the word eliminate its authenticity? How can Peter be seen as late even though he omits reference to Moses and Elijah which later day Christians saw as crucial to the passage.[22] It has been noticed that Peter seems to think of the change in Jesus as having an outward source like that in Moses' case as recorded in Exodus and II Corinthians.[23] Regardless, there can be no doubt that the 'holy mount' which Peter refers to is any one other than the Temple mount in Jerusalem. This also is a clue as to the audience which Peter addresses in this epistle. They had to be Jews or God Fearers since pagans would have no idea which holy mount was referred to and Peter would have therefore added an explanatory note. Thus Peter's epistle supports our view that the 'transfiguration' occurred in the Temple in Jerusalem.

The evening before Yom Kippur the High Priest, or his substitute, was not allowed to go to sleep. After a small evening meal he was kept awake by various means. He was read to by the two or three priests of his Father's House who kept him company during that night. For example, Zachariah ben Chabi remembers reading the book of Daniel to a High Priest in order to keep him awake.[24] The later books were favored because they were discussed less often and this would stimulate interest.

Earlier in that evening the Hillelite Pharisaic leaders had made the High Priest take an oath that he would not change the ceremony from what they considered correct ritual. This was due to the fact that these Pharisees feared that the priest might offer the incense or bathe in the Shammaite or Sadducean manner. The importance of this point is discussed later in this Chapter.

Another way that he was kept awake was by his attendants snapping their fingers when he seemed about to fall asleep.[25] It is recorded that they might say to him "My Lord, the High Priest, rise and cool thyself once on the floor." When they said this they meant 'Show us Kiddah'. Kiddah was an exercise where the High Priest supported only by his thumbs and big toes would bend over and kiss the floor of God's sanctuary. He might even rest his forehead on the marble of the floor which in the heat of late Summer and Autumn was cooling to the touch. Finally, when the first tinge of red appeared towards Hebron it was announced to the High Priest that "the Hour had come" for the services to begin.[26]

Jeremias notes that the High Priest's office involved many unique privileges and responsibilities,

> The threefold entrance into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement signified the approach to the gracious presence of God, which was manifested in the fact that several high priests were granted divine manifestations in the Holy of Holies. Simeon the Righteous and John Hyrcanus heard heavenly voices from the Holy of Holies. The same Simeon the Righteous and Ishmael ben Abijah/Phabi had visions there, and John 11:51 ascribed to the high priest, whoever he was, the gift of prophecy. In fear and trembling (for the slightest breach of the ceremonial rules would be visited by divine judgment), the high priest carried out his duties in the most holy place.[27] (emphasis added)

Full of fear the High Priest dressed and began his day as the mediator between God and his people. We can imagine the fear and sense of awe which possessed the High Priest on the eve of his entrance into the Holy of Holies. The law declared that any man, except the High Priest on Yom Kippur, who entered the holy place would suffer death. Also, the High Priest had to perform the ritual in such a way as to obtain atonement and the remission of sin for himself, his family, for the priesthood and for all mankind. The similarity of the events of Yom Kippur with events recorded by the Gospels is evident:

> And they went to a place which was called Gethsemane [Luke simply calls it the place]; and he said to his disciples, "Sit here while I pray". And he took Peter and James and John with him and he became extremely fearful and full of dread. And he said to them, deeply grieved is my soul even as in death [as if he was about to die]. Remain here and keep awake. And having gone forward a little he fell upon the earth and prayed that if it was possible, the hour might pass from him. And he said, "Abba [or as Mark translates for his Latin audience – the father] all things are possible to thee; take this [wine] cup from me, but not what I will but what thou [will]. And he came and found them sleeping and he said to Peter, "Simon, are you sleeping? Were you not able to stay awake for one hour? Stay awake and pray that you enter not into temptation. Indeed, the spirit is ready [Jesus is ready to do the task] but the flesh is weak". And again having gone away he said the same prayer. And returning he found them sleeping again for their eyes were heavy and they knew not what they should answer him. And he came the third time and said to them "Are you still sleeping and resting? The time is completed, the hour has come". (Mark 14:32-41)

The reason Jesus tells Peter that he must stay awake is that his (Jesus') "spirit is ready but the flesh is weak". The reason that the High Priest or his substitute must stay awake is that if the priest had a wet dream, or some sources say, even if he just dreamt of a woman he would be rendered unclean for that day. This meant that he would not be able to participate in the services in the Temple on that day and his substitute would have to perform the ritual service. Here we see that Mark has faithfully preserved the disciples' remembrances of Jesus' actions on the night before Yom Kippur, but he or some later redactor placed them at Passover because they thought that Jesus' fear was brought on by his eminent death. However, if this were the case why was Jesus so concerned that Simon stay awake? His comment that the flesh is weak coincides with what we know about the High Priest or his substitute needing to stay in a state of purity. Most importantly, the passage ends with "The hour has come" which we know was what was said to the High Priest when he began his services on Yom Kippur.

Early in the morning of Yom Kippur the High Priest and other officers stood by the Eastern gate and the animals which were to be sacrificed that day were led by. The High Priest was escorted by two priests: his substitute on his right, and on his left the head of the course of priests which was regularly on duty on that day. The High Priest put both his hands into a wooden chest and drew out, one at a time, two lots and laid one on the head of each goat. Popularly, it was seen to be good fortune if the right hand lot fell on the lamb of Jehovah (God).[28] Historically, we might see John's comment "here comes the lamb of God" in this context. For when the lamb had the lot put over its head, the priest on the right hand would call out "To Jehovah (God)" thus using the tetragrammaton for the first time. The priests and the people would respond as they would each time the tetragrammaton was used with "Blessed be the name of His kingdom's glory for ever".[29] Each time he uttered the name of God all the people and the priests fell down on their knees and bowed down with their faces touching the ground. The other lamb, or the scapegoat, was for Azazel and was sent off into the wilderness with the sins of the people confessed over its head. This too is recorded by John in his Gospel as "who takes away the sin of the world". Before the lamb was sent off into the wilderness the High Priest prayed,

> Ah, Jehovah [the people prostrated themselves as the High Priest pronounced the tetragrammaton, the unspeakable name of God] they have committed iniquity; they have transgressed; they have sinned — thy people, the house of Israel. Oh, then Jehovah, atone for (literally, cover over), I entreat thee, upon their iniquities, their transgressions and their sins which they have sickedly committed, transgressed and sinned before Thee — Thy people, the house of Israel. As it is written in the law of Moses, thy servant, saying: 'For on that day shall it be atone for (covered over) for you to make you clean from all your sins before Jehovah ye shall be cleansed'. The High Priest then turned towards the people and uttered the last words "Ye shall be cleansed" to declare to them the absolution and remission of their sins. The lamb was then led away.[30]

It should be remembered that the tetragrammaton was the holy name of God and no one could pronounce it out loud without being subject to death. Only on Yom Kippur could the High Priest pronounce the name out loud and this he did ten times; each time with great fear and trepidation. Each time he pronounced the name the priests and all the people prostrated themselves and prayed for God's forgiveness as they recited "Blessed be the name of His Kingdom's glory for ever". This saying is quite familiar to NT readers and will be examined later in this Chapter.

If the transfiguration took place in the Temple as argued, is there any other evidence which links the event with Temple ritual? For the answer let us begin with Luke 9:29-37:

> And while he was praying, the appearance of his face became different, and his clothing became white and gleaming, and behold two men were talking with him; and they were Moses and 'Eli who appearing in glory, were speaking of his departure which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem. Now Peter and his companions had been overcome with sleep, but when they were fully awake they saw his glory and the two men standing with him. And it came

> about as these were parting from him Peter said to Jesus, 'Master it is good for us to be here; and let us make three tabernacles: one for you and one for Moses and one for Elijah — not realizing what he was saying. And while he was saying this a cloud formed and began to overshadow them; and they were afraid as they entered the cloud. And a voice came out of the cloud, saying 'This is my Son, My Chosen One; listen to him'. And when the voice had spoken Jesus was found alone. And they kept silent and reported to no one in those days any of the things which they had seen. And it came about on the next day that when they had come down from the mount, a great multitude met Him.

What we have as a literal translation of the Greek is "And it came to pass as he prayed the outward appearance of his Bodily presence altered and his clothing was white as a flash of lightning". Note that it is his outward appearance which changes.

If Jesus was acting on Yom Kippur as the substitute for the High Priest then in office, then what we have here is the remembrance of Jesus going into the holy part of the Temple with his three assistants, just as the High Priest did on this day. Jesus then dons his white linen garments to perform a particular service which is associated with the large cloud which is mentioned by all the Gospel writers. It should be remembered from the earlier Chapters that the linen garments of the High Priest were made of byssus which had a peculiar shining and bright quality. Other High Priests who wore the byssus garments on Yom Kippur have been described in terms which match those used of Jesus:

> It was the high priest Simon son of Onias....
> How glorious he was, surrounded by the people,
> When he came from behind the Temple curtain!
> He was like the morning star appearing through the clouds or the moon at the full;
> Like the sun shining on the Temple of the Most High
> Or the light of the rainbow on the gleaming clouds;
> Like a rose in spring or lilies by a fountain of water;
> Like a green shoot upon Lebanon on a summer's day
> Or burning incense in the censer;
> Like a cup of beaten gold, decorated with every kind of precious stone;

> Like an olive-tree laden with fruit or a cypress with its top in the clouds.
>
> When he put on his gorgeous vestments, robed himself in perfect splendour,
> And went up to the holy altar, he added lustre to the court of the sanctuary.
> ....To complete the ceremonies at the altar...he held out his hand For the libation cup and poured out the blood of the grape, poured its fragrance at the foot of the altar to the Most High, the King of all....Then the sons of Aaron shouted and blew their trumpets of beaten silver;...Instantly the people as one man fell on their faces to worship the Lord their God, the Almighty, the Most High ...Then Simon came down and raised his hands over the whole congregation of Israel, to pronounce the Lord's blessing, proud to take his name on his lips; And a second time they bowed in worship to receive the blessing from The Most High.[31]

This passage from Jesus ben Sirach describes the High Priest's duties on Yom Kippur. As has been stated, the High Priest after a bath of purification, put on the shining byssus linen garments when he offered the incense in the Holy of Holies. Ben Sirach describes him as like a morning star appearing through clouds – a very bright object amidst darkness, or like the moon when it is full and very bright; or like the sun glinting off of the gold and bronze of the Temple.[32]

Jewish sources record the ritual and state that the High Priest alone and in garments which were peculiar to that Sabbath of Sabbaths entered the Holy of Holies and made atonement for the holy sanctuary, for himself and his family; for the priests and for all mankind. Only on this day did he wear an outfit which was all white since ordinarily the girdle which priests wore over their white robes was a soft blue in color. According to tradition, the day itself was long associated with atonement since it was on Yom Kippur that Adam repented, that Abraham was circumcised and made his covenent with God, and Moses returned from Sinai and made atonement for the sin of the Golden Calf.

The Gospel of John does not have a passage on the need to stay awake and watch, but it does have a tripart prayer which has long been recognized to be in imitation of the prayer which the High Priest made when he entered the Holy of Holies on Yom Kippur: (1) for the High Priest and his immediate family, (2) for the priesthood, and (3) for all mankind.[33] In John, Verses 1-5 are Jesus' prayer for himself as High Priest and he begins with "Father, the hour has come...". Verses 6-19 are Jesus' prayers for his priestly comrades. Finally, in Verses 20-26 Jesus prays for those who believe. This group is called the universal church by today's theologians and corresponds to the third group which the High Priest prayed for — all mankind.

In Luke 9:30 we have "two men talked with him who were Moses and Elias who appeared as in a dream". The naming of Moses and Elijah as the two men is unusual. How would Peter know what they looked like? If their descriptions were well known (remember that Jews did not draw pictures of their biblical leaders) why did some of their colleagues mistake both Jesus and John for Elijah returned to earth? The significance of Moses and Elijah has to do with the Sukkah. There is an Aramaic prayer which is said in the Sukkah before sitting down which invites holy guests to visit. These guests were Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Aaron and Elijah.[34] Sometimes one was invited for each evening. Could the remark by Peter refer to this custom? Secondly, many translations, including the modern ones, misinterpret the key passage where the two men are speaking to Jesus (the import of the Greek is 'as if in a dream') about his solemn procession (marching out) which he intended to fulfill in Jerusalem. The key to earlier translators' problems is

Luke's use of *ἔxodon* here. Since NT scholars know that the end result of Jesus' trip to Jerusalem at Passover is his death, they choose to interpret *ἔxodon* as 'death or decease'. Modern translations such as *The Jerusalem Bible* choose the more scholarly correct, but still equivocal 'passing'. Some have tried to extend *ἔxodon* to mean that Jesus intended the inclusion of his death, resurrection and ascension.[35] By placing these events into a historical context which coincides with Tabernacles we are able to understand what Luke meant by his use of *ἔxodon*.

One of the keys to understanding the entire passage, and the sequence of other events in the Gospels, is Luke's use of *ἔxodon* in this sentence. To force the English word 'death' out of this word and into this context is stretching possibilities. According to Liddell and Scott *ἔxodos* means: "a going out, a marching out, military expedition; a solemn procession; a way out, outlet; the end of an argument; the end of a tragedy, or music played at its close".[36]

Only in the NT has the meaning 'death' been forced upon the word and this is usually because these translators had a theological purpose as they translated the material.[37] Since we know that the transfiguration took place at the time near Sukkah and that Jesus' death did not occur until Passover more than six months later it seems unlikely that he was discussing his death since at this time he was still hoping for the coming of the Kingdom of God. Supporting this view is the rest of the sentence which indicates that he intends to accomplish (fulfill) this *ἔxodon* in Jerusalem. A more likely answer could be found in the fact that the Gospels are known to be inaccurate in the sequence in which they place events as well as the contexts which they have devised for some of Jesus' sayings. More than likely the passage which has been called 'The Entry into Jerusalem' should follow this section. This will be discussed later, but even one point will show how this view can be substantiated. John, in his version of the entry, states that a great crowd heard that Jesus was coming into Jerusalem and took the branches of palms and went out to meet him. (12:12) As will be seen later in this Chapter, this was one of the events which took place at Sukkah. When John mentions that this event took place at "the feast" he is using the term which referred only to the Feast of Tabernacles (Sukkah). Thirdly, it is well known that palm branches are part of the ceremony on Sukkah and not on other holidays though some argue that Hannukah, the Winter holiday, used palm branches in its ritual.[38] It will, however, be demonstrated later in this Chapter that Jesus' use of a donkey and the very words which the people with him cry out are all part of the Sukkah festival and the obligations of the Chief Priest of the course of Abijah/Phabi.

Peter's use of *e̓pistáta* here is significant as was noted earlier. It has been shown that in a Jewish context, *e̓pistátēs* means Chief Priest, and its use here indicates that Jesus is acting as a Chief Priest. While Peter is speaking to Jesus a cloud forms. In other words, where there was nothing a few moments before a cloud appears and envelops them within its borders, much as a heavy fog blowing in from the sea swiftly envelops everything in a sense deadening cloud. After they hear the voice they come upon Jesus all by himself without Moses and Elijah. Where have they gone? Why would Peter, James and John

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not tell the other disciples about what they had seen? The appearance of Elijah was especially important as it meant that the last days were not far off. I believe that these two items are later additions to the Gospel material, and this would account for these problems.

However, the cloud which covered Jesus was the cloud of incense which was an integral part of the Yom Kippur ritual. On Yom Kippur the High Priest offered the incense inside the Holy of Holies. He put incense in a censer which was much larger than the one which was used on the other days of the year and which thus produced a much larger cloud. This cloud filled the entire sanctuary — the Holy of Holies and the part of the Temple where the shewbread and candlesticks were kept and it even encroached upon the great altar where the daily sacrifices were presented to God and filtered out to the Court of Israel. The cloud which formed from the daily incense offering stayed within the inner sanctuary and did not envelop the Priest's Court. On Yom Kippur, partly as a result of the extra large cloud and partly to avoid seeing God when he made his presence known in the Holy of Holies all the priests would withdraw to the Eastern edge of the great altar.[39] For it was thought that when the High Priest offered the incense, God would make himself known in a visible way and the High Priest would then be given fore-knowledge and be able to prophesy about the coming year. The High Priest was left all alone while the priests and the people worshiped in silence in the great courts of the Temple.

If the High Priest seemed to stay too long at his ritual the priests and the people would begin to fear that something had happened. Even Luke records that "the people were waiting for Zacharias [while he was offering the incense and was talking with the angel of God] and were wondering at his delay in the Temple". (1:21) They were fearful because if God was displeased with 'his Son' how much more so would he be with his people. The explanation of the High Priest as God's son has been discussed in an earlier Chapter. There is another story in the Talmud about Simeon the Just which has to do with this event: "In the year which Simeon the Just died he told his friends beforehand that he would die that year. They said to him, 'How do you know?' and he answered them, 'Every year an old man dressed in white and enveloped in white came in with me into the Holy of Holies to offer the incense on Yom Kippur and went out with me, but this year he came in with me but did not go out with me'. Rabbi Abbahu (Abbas-Abijah) said, 'And who shall say that it was a man? Surely, it was the Holy One, blessed be he, in his own glory that came in with him and went out with him! Was the High Priest not a man? You can only explain it (the text under consideration) in accordance with the statement made by Rabbi Simeon namely, that when the Holy Spirit rested upon Phinehas, his face flamed like torches about him...for he is the angel of the Lord of hosts".[40] Remember that the High Priest was sometimes thought of as an angel of the Lord.[41] Therefore there is a tradition that angels dressed in white accompanied the High Priest into the Holy of Holies. Does the disappearance of the two who were with Jesus have any significance?

The cloud which enveloped the High Priest explains many of the subsequent events in Jesus' life, and even sheds light on the historical reasons for his death. According to Wuest the Greek word which Mark uses for cloud is nephele rather than nephos because Mark was referring to a cloud that had definite form and was of a limited size as opposed to a shapeless collection of vapor obscuring the heavens.[42] This would fit with our contention that the cloud which enveloped Jesus was that made by the incense in the Holy of Holies. Wuest indicates that the cloud mentioned by Mark was the Shekinah Glory cloud which guided Israel out of Egypt and which rested above the Mercy seat beneath the golden Cherubim in the Holy of Holies.[43] The Torah also states that the Lord came down in 'the cloud' (Exodus 34:5) which symbolizes the Divine glory of the presence of God.[44] The Mishnah supports the view that there is an association between the cloud, the Mercy seat (where God sat), and God himself.[45] This cloud is identical with the cloud of incense which was constantly kept burning by Aaron during the exodus.

The clouds of incense were also called 'clouds of glory' and it is noted that when Aaron died the 'clouds of glory' departed.[46] This seems logical since it was he who knew how to make the incense and when he died a replacement had to be found who could perform this ritual. When the delegates of the Beth Din came to the High Priest on the evening of Yom Kippur they "conjured" him to act according to Hillelite Pharisaic opinion and not according to Shammaite or Sadducean traditions regarding the incense.[47] These representatives of the Beth Din must have been priests themselves for a lay person could not enter the area where the High Priest stayed in the Temple because it was in the Court of the Priests. These delegates approached him because they feared that he might prepare the incense on the censer outside of the Holy of Holies, and then enter with the censer. The Talmud tells a story which illustrates this:

> It happened to one Sadducee, who prepared (the incense) outside, and entered the Holy of Holies with it. When he came out, he was rejoicing greatly. When his father met him, he said to him, 'My son, though we are Sadducees, yet we must fear the Pharisees. The son replied, 'All my years I was anxious to fulfill the verse (Leviticus 16:2), 'for in the cloud will I (God) appear upon the Mercy seat'. And I said to myself When will come the day when I might do it? And to-day, when I have had opportunity, should I not have done it?' It was said, it did not take long before he died, and lay amidst rubbish [as did those who died at the hands of the Priests' Court] and worms crept out of his nose.[48]

Here we see how crucial was this difference in how to perform the ritual of the offering of the incense on Yom Kippur. Even though the Shammaites and Sadducees interpreted the passage in the Torah to mean that God would appear only if the incense were put upon the censer before the High Priest entered, they were so fearful of the Hillelite Pharisees and their influence that they performed the ceremony in a way which meant that they had to enter the Holy of Holies protected by nothing and risk the chance of seeing God face-to-face and thus die on the spot.

The Hillelite Pharisees were so certain of their interpretation that they compelled the High Priest to take an oath that he would perform the ceremony their way. Why was such a fuss made over a seemingly small matter? Finkelstein tells us that this "is no less perplexing than the Pharisaic objection to it, for the simple reading of the Torah supports the contention of the Pharisees".[49] The Torah reads:

> And he shall take a censer full of coals of fire from off the altar before the Lord, and his hands full of sweet incense beaten small, and bring it within the veil. And he shall put the incense upon the fire before the Lord.[50]

There seems to be no ambiguity here. Why then did the High Priests seemingly disobey the express word of God? It is Lauterback's view that because the High Priest had to enter the Holy of Holies alone in the darkness to offer the incense upon the rock on which God was to appear, he was in mortal terror of the warnings that he was to do the ceremonies in this manner "that he might not die". According to the Hillelite Pharisees, God could not be seen at all and when he chose to be seen he would not then kill the man to whom he had chosen to appear. To believe that God's form might be seen was too pagan for the Hillelite Pharisees and their interpretation of the Jewish religion. The Shammaites, Sadducees and Boethusians maintained that the Temple was still their responsibility and their views should prevail there. The Sadducean way of offering the incense corresponded with both the usual pagan practice and that procedure which was operative among the upper classes of the Empire regardless of their country of origin. Finkelstein cites an example: "After a festive meal a servant put incense on a fire in an outside room and brought it smoking to his master who passed his hands over the incense, so the fragrance removed from them the smell of the food he had touched".[51] The Hillelite Pharisees in their arguments for their approach to offering the incense must have cited the similarity (the incense was put on outside and brought into the room) with such idolatrous practice.

In addition, the Hillelite Pharisees contended that the Torah recorded that the sons of Aaron and seventy of the elders of Israel "saw the God of Israel" (Exodus 24:10) and did not perish. The Sadducees countered with the passages where Moses asked God to "show his glory" (Exodus 33:18) and God replied that "Thou can not see My face, for man cannot see Me and live" (Exodus 33:20). The irreconcilability of these views forced the Hillelites when in power, to insist that the High Priest swear an oath to do the ritual their way. This was necessary because the High Priest was alone when he did the ritual and no one would know how he did it except himself. As the story recounted above notes this did actually happen and the Hillelites must have taken as a sign of God's displeasure that the High Priest died shortly afterwards. But the key problem arose because the Shammaite and Sadducean ritual charged one who acted otherwise (put the incense on the censer after one entered the Holy of Holies) with a mortal sin. This sin was subject to hikkarot (which meant that man could not punish him, but that God would kill him). The priestly Shammaites and Sadducees had the power, through their priestly court which was in charge of what went on within the Temple, to impose this penalty on someone who violated their rules. The Pharisees in extracting the oath assured the High Priest that he was acting as their agent in this matter. According to Shammaite-Sadducean jurisprudence a principal was responsible for the act of his agents. Thus the Hillelites argued that they absolved the High Priest of any responsibility for his actions if he followed their instructions since according to the Law they, not he, were responsible in this case. The High Priest's Council did not agree.[52]

We know this because Jesus was condemned as deserving death by the High Priest's Council when at Passover eve (Nisan 14), just as he finished his week of priestly duty Jesus stated: "you will see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven".[53] This remark causes the then High Priest to tear his robe and declare what Jesus had just said to be blasphemy. Blasphemy was, in the broadest sense, any act which was contrary to the will of God or derogatory about his power. Blasphemy was also the denial of the ability of God to save Israel as well as offering sacrifices on the ancient High Places.[54] In the narrower and more precise sense, the word was used to mean 'speaking contemptuously of Jehovah'. More specifically, and in relationship to the punishment for committing blasphemy, it meant the violation of the norms of God which were set down in the Torah.

The death sentence for blasphemy was carried out by stoning and not crucifixion and the Mishnah states that this should be the case only where the blasphemer had uttered the Tetragrammaton and two witnesses had warned him not to do so prior to his transgressions.[55] In the early Middle Ages excommunication was the usual sanction against a blasphemer. Since neither of these punishments were pronounced on Jesus we must look elsewhere for the source of his death sentence, and our clue lies in Jesus' own words about the "clouds of heaven" or the incense cloud.

By declaring that he would perform the incense ritual, and by teaching that it should be performed with the incense being put upon the coals outside of the Holy of Holies so that God would make himself known by coming with the incense cloud, Jesus was declaring that he was against Hillelite ritual. Therefore the Sanhedrin condemned Jesus as deserving death. Since two witnesses did not agree they could not execute him themselves so they had Jesus condemned by the Roman government for his involvement in the recent insurrection. Because Jesus had many known comrades among the Zealot participants (remember many of them were priests) in the riots, the accusation must have seemed a legitimate one to Pilate. The bribe that Pilate was offered and the idea that he could get off the hook for not preventing or controlling the insurrection by executing the supposed leaders (Jesus and the two Zealots with him) must have seemed the perfect way out. Regardless, or perhaps because of Jesus' death, Pilate was called back to Rome by Tiberius. However, it seems that he was spared the indignity of an inquiry into his Procuratorship.[56]

There are other elements which are recorded by the Gospels and which support the theory that Jesus' 'transfiguration' took place in the Temple as part of the Yom Kippur ritual. First, Matthew uses anapherei to describe how Jesus took James, John and Peter with him "into the mount".[57] Anapherei is always used in the NT to refer to a religious act such as sacrifice or the remission of sins by Jesus in his priestly function. Thus Matthew is telling us that Jesus is engaged in a religious act on the mount. In Luke 24:51 anaphero is used to describe Jesus' ascension into heaven.

Therefore what has happened here in 'the transfiguration' is Jesus' investment as the Chief Priest of the course of Abijah/Phabi and as the substitute High Priest from the clan of Jedidiah for the Yom Kippur service. In accordance with the theory that parts of the Gospels are not in chronological order we propose that when the voice in the Temple says 'hear him', everyone falls silent and Jesus begins to teach with the words of what we have come to call the "Sermon on the Mount". Note that it takes place on the mount. The High Priest always expounded upon the Law during the day of Yom Kippur.[58]

After Jesus had substituted as the High Priest on Yom Kippur he chose to violate Hillelite rules and return as the Chief Priest of

Abijah/Phabi when they assumed their duties on the second day of Sukkah. It had been the custom that the substitute High Priest would retire from service until the death of the man whom he had replaced in order to prevent jealousy. It was also to prevent the possibility of a physical struggle over the office by adherents of each of the men. There already was enough competition whenever the Romans chose to replace the High Priest in office. As has been noted in an earlier Chapter, riots and fights with clubs and sticks eventually resulted from the intense competition among three or four priestly father's houses - especially Annas, Boethus and Abijah/Phabi.[59] Thus the Gospels record that everyone was wondering if Jesus would come up to "The Feast" (remember that this can only refer to Sukkah). Material in John substantiates that view that Jesus went into the Temple on the second day of Sukkah and on the first day of his course's duty. John 7:14 states: "But now being the middle of the Feast (*mesoúsēs tē̃s heortē̃s*) Jesus went up into the Temple". Why would Jesus miss the first day of Sukkah (The Feast) in order to come up on an intermediate day? More than likely this is a reference to his arrival with his priestly course as John then states that Jesus responds to questions about what he has instructed those with him.

We will review some of the more relevant aspects of the Sukkah festival and then we will show how many of these events are duplicated in Jesus' life. One of the reasons that Sukkah has so many names is that it is a composite holy day, and as such it is a perfect example of the continuing syncretism which was part of Judaism down to the Middle Ages. Sukkah is called *Hag ha Osif* (The Feast of the Ingathering);

Ha Hag (The Feast); Hag Adonai (The Feast of God); as well as the name by which it is best known in English — The Feast of Tabernacles. But when anyone in NT times referred to 'the feast' it was Sukkah which was meant.[60] It is an autumn festival which begins on the fifteenth day of the month of Tishri (which corresponds to our late September — early October). It is observed for eight days; of which, the first and the eighth are called Sabbaths. This means that all the rules of the Sabbath in addition to those of the feast itself, are applicable on those days.

Sukkah was once the greatest of the pilgrimage festivals. It was in the Autumn when the people had gathered in all the crops from the fields, orchards and vineyards that they brought up their portion for the Lord and his servants (the priests and Levites) and were joyous before God. They thanked God for the abundance of the land and offered up prayers for the abundant rain necessary to bumper crops and a prosperous new year.

The Feast was celebrated by the Cananites before the Hebrews came to the land. This is because they were already an agricultural folk while the Hebrews were still partly nomadic gatherers and herders.[61] We are told that in the time of the Judges the young women of Shiloh would hold a dance procession in the vineyards in honor of The Feast. This part of the ceremony endured even until Jesus' time when young girls dressed all in white danced in the Temple courts. Even in the time of Isaiah we have remembrances of how happy a holy day Sukkah was. On the eve of the holy day all the people joined in a sacred procession where they sang hymns and played on pipes and wound their way up to the

Temple mount. Since it was the one time of the year when everyone drank a great deal many of the prophets condemned the excesses they saw during Sukkah.[62]

During the reign of Josiah the Temple in Jerusalem was declared the only place of worship for Jews and the local "High Places" were abolished. The holy day became a force for national unity since all the people now gathered in one place to worship their God. Under the Kings, after the exile, and especially under the Hasmoneans, the holy day became the regnal birthday of the ruler of Israel. In the NT we have a remembrance of this fact in relationship to Agrippa I who put on the royal apparel on what was called "the prescribed day" and sat down on the "raised place" (a throne seat made for this occasion) and spoke to the assembled people.[63] One of the things which the King, or the High Priest if there was no King, did during Tishri was read and interpret the Law to the people. He made a short exposition on Yom Kippur, but on the eighth day of Sukkah he read large portions from the Law. This will come up again in this Chapter.

Even though Passover and its promise of the "Coming Kingdom of God" took over as the most important holy day of the year, Sukkah remained a favorite with the people. The pilgrimage which the peasants and the landowners made to Jerusalem was particularly joyous. As is well known, it was reported that the town of Lud was deserted at Sukkah because every man, woman and child had gone up to Jerusalem for 'The Feast'. It was difficult for a Jewish peasant to leave his farm or village at Passover and Shavuot because they occurred during the seasons for cutting and threshing the grain. The peasant was able to leave only at the Autumn festival because the crops had earlier been gathered from both field and orchard. We know, for example, that huge caravans of the Jews of the Diaspora made their way to Jerusalem carrying the head tax for the Temple.[64] Travelling alone was dangerous and since much food and some money was involved, the pilgrims travelled in caravans for protection. Babylonian Jews came in great numbers. They would meet at two gathering places, Nahardea and Nisibis and leave in huge caravans bringing the required priestly tithes and the gifts for God. The trip from Babylon often took two weeks.[65]

At Sukkah, members of a group of villages met in the main town of their region with their first fruits for the Temple. Others, like Barnabas and Paul/Saul, came with money for the second tithe. They were led by an 'elder' who announced "Arise and let us go to Zion unto the house of the Lord our God".[66] Often an ox with its horns overlaid with gold and a wreath of olive leaves on its head went before them. As they proceeded they were accompanied by the music of flutes, cymbals and drums. The Book of Jubilees states that the celebrants wore olive wreaths on their heads, carried staffs in their hands and had sandals on their feet.[67] The closer they got to Jerusalem the more crowded the roads became. Many carried money for the second tithe along with their first fruit offerings for God. The Feast marked the change of the seasons, the equinox and the approach of the rainy season. It also was the determining point for the beginning and end of the Sabbatical year. The Feast began at the full moon and, as many know, the 'harvest moon' is an awesome sight even for someone who understands why it appears to be so large and is colored a bright orange.

At The Feast every man was required to give what he was able according to the blessing which God had given him. They brought votive, freewill and peace offerings. Thus during The Feast a very large number of caravans entered Jerusalem. Jesus too entered Jerusalem in a large caravan. The Gospel of John tells us that "on the morrow" a great crowd went out to meet Jesus whom they had heard was coming into Jerusalem. Now "on the morrow" is a Hebraism which means on the morning after a specific day.[68] That day might be the Sabbath or a festival but it can not mean the morning after any ordinary day. In this case John is telling us that Jesus came into Jerusalem on the morning after the first day of Sukkah. Again this is substantiated by later data provided by John such as the palm branches,

> On the morrow a great crowd who had come to the feast having heard that Jesus was coming into Jerusalem took branches of palms and went out to meet him and were crying 'Hoshana, blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the King of Israel [They did not say as some would have us think - Blessed is the King of Israel - but they referred to he who comes in his (God's) name] And having found a young ass Jesus sat upon it....Therefore the Pharisees said among themselves, 'Do you see that you gain nothing. Lo the world has gone after him'. (12:12-19)

It can be seen that there are two crowds: (1) the crowd with Jesus which is entering Jerusalem - though we are not told by John where they are coming from; and (2) the crowd which comes out from Jerusalem to meet him while they are carrying palm fronds and shouting. We know that when the processions bringing the first fruits reached the outskirts of Jerusalem, the priests went out to meet them. If the incoming procession included an important group the High Priest, the officers and even the King, if there was one, would go out to greet them. When they arrived at the gates of the city the words of Psalms 122 and 125 were recited by the leader of the incoming group "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem. May they prosper who love thee. Peace go within thy walls...For my brethren and companions' sakes I will now say 'Peace be within thee'".[69] In the Gospels we are told that Jesus stopped his procession on its way into Jerusalem and prayed for Jerusalem. Jesus' words as recorded by the Gospels are not the same as the prayer we have above though both speak of peace for Jerusalem. What is important is that the ritual elements of a first fruit procession were carried out by Jesus and his companions.

As Brown has noted in his work on the Gospel of John, the "Hoshana, blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the King of Israel" is the only OT quote in this Gospel which is not prefaced or followed by a formula of explanation such as "The Scripture says...".[70] This shout was used by all the incoming processions on Sukkah. Also, all of the Gospels have included some form of Psalm 118. This Psalm was part of the liturgy used at Sukkah, but scholars have sometimes argued that it was also sung at Passover and Hannukah. Also, John and Matthew both cite Zechariah 14:16 which was the haftorah portion for the first day of the festival. This is discussed below.

Brown concluded that it was beyond the possibility of proving that Jesus' entry occurred at Sukkah. But this seems to ignore the facts since palm branches only have relevance at Sukkah. Even "Hoshanah" is the transliteration of the Aramaic Hosa-na and the Hebrew Hosi a (n) na and means 'save now (please)'.[71] This word was used as a prayer for help and particularly at Sukkah where it was associated with supplications for divine deliverance and the prayer for rain.[72] Given these facts, it seems unduly rigorous to reject Sukkah as the historical background for the Entry of Jesus.

John, when he describes how Jesus rode on a donkey, uses the word for 'seated' instead of 'riding' or 'mounted' and this fits the historical reality of the situation. If the procession is going over the Kedron Valley while traversing from the Mount of Olives to the Temple as the passage describes, then Jesus' actions make Levitical/priestly sense. It is well known that if a priest walked over a hidden grave he was considered to be ritually unclean and unable to serve in the Temple on that day.[73] Jesus, in order to remain ritually clean, had arranged for a donkey to be tethered on the Mount of Olives at the home of his relatives, and as he passed over Kedron — where many people were buried and had their tombs (i.e. Joseph of Arimathea, the Tomb of Absalom) and still do today — he rode on the donkey to keep from walking on unclean ground by mistake. John tells us that he was seated and this makes sense since this is the way one would ride for a short trip dressed in long priestly robes which would be difficult to ride astride with.

John concludes with another passage which supports the view that Sukkah was the occasion: "Lo, all the world (literally, 'everyone' in Hebrew) has gone after him". The Talmud relates a story about Shammai and 'Abtalian: "It happened to one High Priest going out from the Temple (in his procession after the end of Yom Kippur) and the whole world was accompanying him....".[74] John does not have the information about the sending out of the two disciples for the donkey, but he does have Jesus sitting on a donkey. The Synoptics do not have the group coming out to meet Jesus, but 'disciples' do accompany Jesus from Bethany to the gates of Jerusalem. Mark has some going before Jesus and some after, and Matthew states that the crowds hailed the son of David. John has the palm branches while the synoptics have trees and garments. I suggest that what we have here is the integration of two different events. Over the years of oral telling, what became important was an entry and so both events became one. I suggest that we have a combination of remembrances: (1) the procession which followed Jesus after he performed the High Priest's ritual on Yom Kippur, and (2) the procession when he went out to Motza to get the palm branches for the Hoshana Rabbah ritual in the Temple.

We know that on Yom Kippur after the day was over the High Priest was escorted to his home by a large crowd who pressed in on him so that they might touch him or his robe which was thought to have healing powers on this day of days. This was because both the High Priest and the two sets of his garments had been very close to God on that day. They marched to the High Priest's home in a ceremonial procession which left the Temple and, in Jesus' case, went with him to Bethany in the following order: first went those who traced their ancestry to the Kings of Israel; then those who were of the higher priesthood, then those of the house of David. Before each, a herald cried out: "Give honor to the family of David", "Give honor to the family of Levi", etc. After them followed the singers, the musicians, the trumpeters, the closers of the gates, the preparers of the incense, the preparers of the curtains, the watchers, the masters of the treasury and the kartophylanx (the men of courage), then all who were employed at the

Temple, then the members of the Sanhedrin who were not priests, then a hundred priests with silver staves in their hands which they used to keep back the crowds, and then the High Priest and behind him the priestly elders in pairs. Most of the population which was dressed all in white marched before the High Priest with burning white candles. All the windows of the houses were lighted up and each man vied for the honor of kissing the hand of the High Priest. The High Priest then enjoyed a great feast he had prepared in honor of his safely coming out of the Holy of Holies.[75]

An echo of this occasion can be seen in the Synoptic Gospels:

> Now when Jesus returned [from his service in the Temple] the crowd welcomed him for they were all waiting for him [to come out of the Holy of Holies] ... As he went the crowds thronged about him. And a woman being with a flux of blood for twelve years who spent her whole living on physicians who could not cure her came up behind [Jesus] and touched the border of his garment and the flux of her blood immediately stopped. And Jesus said 'Who is it that was touching me? And all denying said Peter and those with him *'Epistáta* [Not teacher or Lord, but Chief Priest] the crowds throng thee and press and you say who is it that was touching me? (Luke 8:40-45)

The healing of the woman seems to have taken place on Yom Kippur as Jesus returned to Bethany where he was to hold his great feast. We are specifically told that Jesus was welcomed by a crowd which had been *waiting for him* to return, just as the crowd waited for the High Priest while he was offering the incense. Again we have *Ἐpistáta* used in a passage where Jesus is carrying out the duties of the High Priest or his substitute.

Another point which supports the view that Jesus' entry was a conflation of two events which occur in Tishri is that of Jesus being told to silence (rebuke) his disciples. Jesus replies that "If these were silent" so the Hillelites must have asked Jesus to silence his disciples who were saying something improper. It is not the "Hoshana" or even Luke's remark of 'King' which the Hillelites objected to, but the "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord". This verse "Blessed be the name of His kingdom's glory for ever and ever" is never recited out loud except on Yom Kippur during the morning service in the Temple and during Maariv (when the gates of the Temple were closed in preparation for God's final decision concerning the coming year). This verse is the second verse of the Shema which begins: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is One". Three reasons are given by the Hillelites for this custom of never reciting the second verse out loud: (1) "Blessed be the name of His kingdom's glory for ever and ever" does not occur in the Torah. When Jacob called his sons to him before his death he said "My Grandfather Abraham, had an unworthy son. My father, Isaac had an unworthy son. Perhaps one of my sons too is unworthy". Whereupon all twelve of his sons proclaimed "Hear, O Israel (Jacob): the Lord our God, the Lord is One". When Jacob heard this he exclaimed, "blessed be his glorious sovereign (in LXX the Greek is Baselius) name for ever and ever"; (2) is based upon the fact that Moses did not say it when he said the Shema and so in respect for Moses it was repeated silently at all times except on Yom Kippur when God's name was especially honored; and (3) it was said that this verse is sung by the angels when the people bless God with the Shema and thus humans are not to say it out loud. On Yom Kippur when part of the ritual was to compare Israel (the Jewish people) with the angels the verse was recited in a loud voice. Some of the Pharisees told Jesus to silence his disciples. Jesus, because they were at that time in an area which was considered to be part of the Temple grounds, replied "I tell you, if these were silent, the very stones would cry out". (Luke 19:39) Certain areas on the Mount of Olives and in the valley of the Kedron were considered to be holy and part of the Temple grounds because it was necessary to perform certain rites, like the slaughter of the Red Heifer or the reaping of the first 'Omer, in these places.[76] Therefore, Jesus considered it was ritually all right for them to call out.

During Sukkah, a priest went each morning to draw water from the pool of Siloam which was on the Bethany side of the Temple. After drawing out the water he made his way back up the holy mount and entered the Temple through what was called the water gate and into the Priests' Court. This event explains why it was possible for Jesus' disciples to follow the correct man who was to be carrying a pitcher of water. First of all, normally only women carried water. Second, an exception was the priest who went down to the Siloam pool to fill up a pitcher of this especially holy water for use in the Temple ritual. Otherwise, if many men carried water in pitchers we must ask how the disciples would know whom to follow. Since the man carrying the pitcher of water from Siloam entered through the water gate into the restricted Priests' Court the disciples who followed him must have been priests too. This is substantiated by Mark,

> And he sends for two of his disciples and says to them "Go into the city and you will meet a man carrying a pitcher of water; follow him and wherever he may enter say to the master of the house 'The teacher says, 'Where are my quarters...And he will show you a large upper room furnished and ready. There prepare for us".
> (Mark 14:13-15)

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Jesus is in Bethany and he dispatches two of his disciples to meet and follow a man carrying a pitcher of water. This event is neither the plotting of a revolutionary, as some would have us think; nor the extreme caution of a man who thinks that his disciples could not find the house on their own. Rather, it is the action of the head of an incoming course of priests. Early in the morning, just about cock crow, the priests in the Temple began to stir and perform their duties. One of those duties was to go down to the pool of Siloam and draw a pitcher of water which would be used for the daily water offering for God.[77]

When the disciples had followed the water carrier to wherever he entered (notice that he doesn't say the more natural 'to his house') they were to speak to 'the master of the house'. Luke states that they are to speak to the *oi̓kodespótȩ̄ tē̃s oi̓kías*. We have already shown that *oi̓kodespotēs* refers to the Master (Superintendent) of the Temple. Otherwise, why is it that Luke repeats himself when he usually has great mastery over his Greek. I suggest that Luke is telling us that the house in Jerusalem where Jesus is going is the only place which was already called 'the house' — 'the house of God'. This is substantiated by LXX where the house of God and the Temple are used interchangeably (*tēs oi̓kías*).[78] Therefore Jesus is telling Peter and John to follow the man who draws the morning water at the pool of Siloam. He could not know the name of this man ahead of time and thus give it to his disciples so that they might call him by his name because the drawing of the water was a job which was awarded by lot at the morning preparation. This explains the 'mysterious' directions which Jesus gave his disciples. Most scholars try to explain away the problem of a man (Jesus does not call him a slave) fetching water. Men simply did not go to a well and carry water back home. The upper chamber to which Jesus referred was the room reserved for the head of the course on duty that week and for the commander in charge of the father's houses which served daily in the Temple. It was located on the second floor above the water gate. The 'master of the house' was the priest who was permanently stationed in the Temple, and oversaw all the necessary arrangements and supplies.

Finally, in reference to Jesus' entry we know that during Sukkah there were several uses for palm branches. On what was called "that great day of the feast" (Hoshana Rabbah) the priests would circle the great altar seven times and beat the palms on 'the pavement' of the Priests' Court. These palms were cut in Jericho and other places about Jerusalem during the week before Sukkah and then they were stored in a place immediately east of the Temple called Motza which was in the Kedron valley. On the seventh day the priests went down to Motza and collected the palm branches and carried them in procession into Jerusalem and the Temple. Part of what is known as Jesus' Entry is in remembrance of this event. The reason that they used their cloaks and these branches to cover the ground which Jesus was passing over was to ensure that he did not become contaminated by an unclean grave or anything else.

John states: "And in the last day, the greatest of the feast stood Jesus and cried saying "If anyone thirst let him come to me and drink". (7:37) For on the last great day of the feast two important things happened: (1) the altar was circled seven times by all the people with shouts of "Hosha'na" and (2) the priest with the golden pitcher which he had filled from Siloam poured its contents on the altar of God. John's remembrance of Jesus' words on the seventh day of Sukkah are very similar to a prayer which was said by everyone as they entered a Sukkah : "For those who know hunger and thirst mayest Thou (God) give food and drink that shall not fail".[79] This too supports my theory that these events occurred at Sukkah. This day, Hosha'na Rabbah (the Great Hosha'na), was seen as the final day on which God would judge the world and decide on the amount of rain which would fall during the coming year.[80] The seventh day was distinguished by the fact that seven circuits were made around the altar with the lulav instead of the single circuit made on the other days of the festival.

The name of the holiday was taken from the word 'Hosha'na' which is the short way of pronouncing Hoshi a na (Save I pray) and prayers which were called by this name were recited on each day of Sukkah. The Hosha'na prayers were for a good harvest in the year to come and were recited during the procession around the altar. As they circled the altar they sang: "Pray! O Lord save! Pray! O Lord give success I pray! We beseech Thee O Lord save us now! We beseech Thee O Lord make us now to prosper!"[81] The Mishnah says that it was the priests who called out 'O Lord save,' etc. as they went around the altar.

Again we seem to have the conflation of two events in Jesus' life: (1) the procession around the altar where the priests cried out 'Hosha'na! Save O Lord...' and (2) the entry of the first fruits procession where the chief of the group stops and prays for peace for

Jerusalem. Luke records that first the disciples/crowd shouts "Blessed is the kingdom coming in the name of the Lord" and then "Peace in heaven and glory (praise) in the upper most (sphere of heaven)". Later as Jesus drew near the city he is said to weep over Jerusalem saying "If you had known at least on this your day the things for peace". (19:38-42) All of Jesus' actions parallel those of the Chief in charge of a Sukkah caravan, and a priest on Hosha'na Rabbah.

Another similarity to Mark can be noted in a happening during Sukkah. As the priests withdrew on the seventh day (Hosha'na Rabbah) after they had pounded the palm branches on the pavement around the altar they exclaimed, "How beautiful are thou O Altar! (Or Beauty is thine O Altar).[82] This section may present us with important clues as to how the Gospels were put together. Scholars have long postulated that the section, called 'the little apocalypse' is a patchwork of genuine sayings of Jesus, but that Jesus did not put them together in this pattern.[83] Even the order preserved by Mark substantiates the view that a priest's comments on Hosha'na Rabbah is what is recorded in Mark 13:1: "As he was going out of the Temple, one of his disciples said to him" Teacher, [behold-potapoi is often used for exclamatory purposes and could be translated-'Oh What'] stones. It seems that we have a saying which was placed in another context than its own. For the statement is preceeded by the fact that Jesus is leaving the Temple which fits with the occasion on which was said "How beautiful are thou O Altar". It has long been thought that this section was pieced together and here we have evidence that at least part of it was.

Sukkah was celebrated for eight days, but the last day of the festival had two other names: Shemini Atzereth and Simhat Torah. It is true that some scholars contend that Simhat Torah was begun only in the Middle Ages.[84] As will be seen, the evidence in the NT proves this hypothesis wrong. The holiday had two names due to the fact that two holy days had been combined into one. Some say that _atzereth_ comes from Numbers 29:35 "On the eighth day you shall have a solemn assembly (_atzereth_); you shall do no manner of servile work"; while others say that _atzereth_ means to 'restrain' or 'hold back'.[85] This meaning fits in with the season as this holiday comes on the Autumnal equinox when the moon is full. Snaith explains that in latitudes away from the equator, the night of the full moon of the seventh month or the Harvest full moon, has great significance. The full moon rises at sunset every month, but when the moon is near the first point of the constellation of Aries, it rises at approximately the same time for two or three nights in a row. "This is due to the variation, as the latitude gets higher, between the inclination of the ecliptic and the horizon at different points of the horizon".[86] At Tishri, the Harvest full moon is at the first point of Aries and the sun is in Libra. These two or three nights of the moon's 'restraining' seems to be of even greater length. When this is added to the fact that the moon appears larger than otherwise, that it is blood red in color and the fact that the night is illuminated from dusk to dawn this would naturally encourage an early society to make a holy day out of it. This accounts for the rituals which go on all night during Sukkah — such as the lights of the water drawing ceremony. On that night many men danced before the gathered crowd with torches in their hands while they sang "Happy is he who has not sinned, and whoever has sinned shall be forgiven".[87] If this sounds reminiscent of Yom Kippur, it should, since it was believed that during Sukkah, specifically on Shemini Atzereth, God made his decision regarding the life of each human being for the coming year.

The second name of the eighth day is Simhat Torah, or the 'Rejoicing in the Law' on which the reading of the Torah was concluded. Some scholars contend that this is a post-Talmudic festival, but the evidence from the NT as will be seen, indicates the contrary.[88] On Simhat Torah the last portions of the Torah were read from a high platform by a priest who was called "the Bridegroom of the Law".[89]

Gaster has summarized the meaning and ritual of Simhat Torah as follows:

> The whole ceremony is really a mystical imitation of the wedding service, and symbolizes that marriage of Israel to the Law which the ancient exegetes read into the Biblical Song of Songs and which served as one way of expressing the Covenant relationship. The bridegroom, for instance, is attended by 'bridesmen'...who sit beside him and assist him...Not impossibly, the custom of celebrating the Rejoicing in the Law as a wedding was inspired by the idea of sublimating to a more spiritual plane the common folk usage of staging a mock wedding at harvest festivals, this ceremony representing the union of natural forces for the production of the year's fertility. A special feature of the service is the fact that on this day children under the age of thirteen — that is, children who have not yet attained religious majority — are called collectively to the reading of the Law.[90]

The service contains special chants and hymns some of which describe how the angels gather around the throne of God and express amazement at the mortal Moses ascending Sinai to receive the tablets from God.

In all four Gospels it is noted that Jesus is called 'the Bridegroom' and, in these same sections, fasting is discussed. For instance, John when discussing the Bridegroom states:

> He that has the bridal chamber is the Bridegroom, but the friend of the Bridegroom who stands and hears him with joy rejoices because of the voice of the Bridegroom – this completes (fulfills) my joy. (3:29)

John is saying that the priest who has (is staying in) the High Priest's chamber acts as Bridegroom of the Torah. It is not an elective office nor is the honor given by lot, rather it goes to the High Priest or his substitute as the priest who has the chamber. The Bridegroom's friends are, of course, the priests of his course who are required to stand around the throne (a wooden temporary structure) as he reads the Law on Simhat Torah. He does this in imitation of Ezra and the way in which he read the Law to the people. John also says that he hears his (Jesus') voice with joy. These words paint a picture of someone giving a speech. Why not say he heard his words with joy? He also mentions that with joy he rejoices (a Hebraism used for emphasis) and as should be remembered, this day is also called 'the Rejoicing in the Law'. The synoptics refer to the 'sons of' the Bridegroom. Now it is logical that most grooms do not already have sons, so that 'sons of the Bridegroom' must refer to something else. Elsewhere Jesus refers to the disciples as his children and this is probably what he means here.[91]

If the disciples were neophite priests, as has been postulated, then they were about twenty years old when Jesus called them to begin their training as priests. Therefore, to call them his 'sons' as a teacher might call his students is logical. Also as 'sons' of priests they were also called 'sons' as has been shown previously. According to Ta'anith, the Talmud tractate on fasting: "A man should not say: 'I am too young a scholar to be counted in among the rabbis (elders) and thus should be included in the meaning of the term "private individuals" [private individuals had different rules for fasting than did priests] hence I need not keep the fast days....".[92]

Interestingly, fasting regulations were another point of controversy between the Shammaites and Hillelites. "For some fasted on Hosha'na Rabbah, but after the destruction of the Temple it was forbidden to do so (by the Hillelites).[93] Therefore, I contend that when the disciples of John and the Pharisees question Jesus about fasting they are referring to this controversy:

> And the disciples of John and those of the Pharisees were fasting; and they came to him and said, "Why are the disciples of John and those of the Pharisees fasting, but thy disciples fast not? (Mark 2:18)

The Greek of this passage allows for the following translation:

> And the disciples of John also of the Pharisees were fasting [they were Pharisees like Jesus was a Pharisee, but they were of the Hillelites and Jesus of the Shammaites]. This translation is supported by the sentence which follows it: 'And they came (the Sadducees) and said to him (Jesus) why are the disciples of John, also of the Pharisees [like you are of the Pharisees] fasting, but those [of the Pharisees — indicated here by oi which is often skipped over and never even translated in this sentence] of your (Jesus') disciples do not fast?[94]

"And the disciples of John also of the Pharisees were fasting" (what is meant is that they were Pharisees like Jesus but they were of the Hillelite faction). Many translators have been forced to add twn or mathetai in order to make theological sense out of the literal translation. However, if left the way that the most reliable and oldest manuscripts have it, the sentence should read as it does above. This is supported by the sentence which follows it: "And they came and said to him [Jesus] why are the disciples of John also of the Pharisees fasting, but those [of the Pharisees — indicated here by oi] of your [Jesus'] disciples do not fast?" As has been noted this topic is one of the controversies among the factions of the Pharisees. The Shammaites did not fast on Hosha'na Rabbah because of reasons which involved their Temple perquisities. However, the Hillelites, many of whom were not priests, did not have a share of the sacrifices and so fasting was not a problem for them.

The priest called to read the last portion of the Torah was called the 'Hatan Torah' (the Bridegroom of the Law). When he was called to read the Bridegroom was crowned with a myrtle wreath and a special formula was recited when he received the scroll.[95] After he served as the Bridegroom it was traditional for him to give a feast in honor of the day.

As has been mentioned, Simhat Torah has a ceremony where children under the age of puberty are collectively called up to the presence of the High Priest after he had finished reading as the 'Bridegroom of the Law'. This too is recorded in the NT as an action of Jesus. The acting High Priest was always the Bridegroom unless a King like Agrippa I performed the ceremony of the reading. In that case the High Priest still did the blessing over the children. The High Priest would hold out his hands in the blessing over the heads of the children and he touched those he could on the head in conformity with the ritual 'laying on of hands'. As already discussed, it was thought that the High Priest, as the intercessor between man and God, had the ability to confer God's blessings on man. The blessing which the High Priest pronounced included the words uttered by Jacob when he blessed Ephraim and Manasseh, the children of Joseph.[96]

> And he [Israel/Jacob] blessed them and said, 'The God in whose sight my fathers were well pleasing even Abraam and Isaac, the

> God who continues to feed me from my youth until this day; the angel who delivers me from all evils, bless these boys, and my name shall be called upon them, and the name of my fathers, Abraam and Isaac; and let them be increased to a great multitude on the earth....And he blessed them in that day [thus the performance of the ritual during Sukkah] saying, 'In you shall Israel be blessed. God make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh'.[97]

The NT passage in Mark is very similar in circumstance to the blessing of the children on Simhat Torah:

> And they brought children to him that he might touch them. But the disciples rebuked those who brought them. But seeing this Jesus was indignant and said to them, 'Allow the children to come to me and do not hinder them for of such is the Kingdom of God. Verily (truly) I say to you whoever shall not welcome the Kingdom of God as (if he were) a little child, in no way shall enter into it. (Mark 10:13-16)

The value of the thesis of this work can be shown to have historical relevance for this passage when, for example, scholars like William Barclay have declared that "these are units whose sole purpose is to enshrine some saying of Jesus".[98] Furthermore, Barclay announces that we can not know who, what, where, when or why: "There is no indication of where this happened; there is no indication of who it was who brought the children; there is no indication of why the disciples stopped them [the children]". Bultmann offers a different kind of analysis in that he finds that "Here for the first time Dibelius' theory of 'sermonic sayings' finds some support, for the logion in v.15 could well be a secondary piece inside vv.13-16".[99] Bultmann is correct when he says that the verses were not always put together in the manner they are today, for it is suggested here that the construction reveals the piecing together of the sayings of Jesus with the reminiscences of the original disciples and/or apostles in an effective teaching method. There probably was no one left who could tell whether v.15 actually fit there or not and to a latter day theologically motivated teacher and writer it is an excellent solution.

Bultmann also notes, in opposition to scholars such as Metzger, that the original unit had its basis in the Jewish practice of blessing (children and others).[100] The thoery presented in this work, that Jesus was a priest, supports Bultmann in that the historical setting for Jesus' words was a regular Jewish ceremony. This knowledge allows us to contradict Barclay's declaration that we can not know who, what, where, when or why.

The episode of the blessing of the children shows that there was a great distance in time and knowledge between the time of Jesus and the writing of the Gospels as we have them. By knowing that Jesus was a Chief Priest and a physician it is now possible to reconstruct the events of his life in a historical manner. The next Chapter is an example of this procedure. There, the last days of Jesus' life will be put into historical perspective.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER SIX

[1] For the duty days of Abijah/Phabi see R. T. Beckwith, "St. Luke, the Date of Christmas and the Priestly Courses at Qumran," Revue De Qumran Vol. 9 (1977), pp. 73-94.

[2] Jewish Encyclopedia — s.v. Tishri.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Philo, De Specialibus Legibus 2:196.

[5] b. Yoma 28a-28b.

[6] Hayyim Schauss, Guide to Jewish Holy Days (New York, 1965), pp. 143-145.

[7] W. E. Vine, An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words (Old Tappan, 1966), p. 89.

[8] b. Negaim 2:2.

[9] b. Negaim 1:4.

[10] W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon (Chicago, 1957), p. 171.

[11] b. Negaim Chapter 3, Mishnah 1; Edersheim, pp. 358-359.

[12] b. Sotah 31a.

[13] Liddell and Scott, p. 500.

[14] Matthew 17:1-8; Mark 9:2-8; Luke 9:28-36.

[15] Alexander B. Bruce, The Expositor's Greek Testament (Grand Rapids, 1976), p. 229.

[16] Kitzur Shulhan Arukh 134-135.

[17] Matthew and Mark have "after six days"; Luke has "after eight days"; Bruce, p. 228.

[18] William Barclay, Introduction to the First Three Gospels (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 130-131.

[19] Alfred Edersheim, The Temple (Grand Rapids, 1975), p. 93.

[20] II Peter 1:16-18.

[21] W. Robertson Nicoll, The Expositor's Greek Testament (Grand Rapids, 1976), pp. 94-97.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Exodus 34:29ff; II Corinthians 3:7ff.

[24] b. Yoma 18b.

[25] This was called Tzreda in b. Yoma 19b.

[26] b. Yoma 28a-28b.

[27] Jeremias, Jerusalem, pp. 149-150; cf., b. Sotah 33a; Josephus, Antiquities 13:282.

[28] b. Yoma 39a.

[29] b. Yoma 39a.

[30] Edersheim, Temple, pp. 317-318.

[31] Ecclesiasticus (The Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach) 50:1-21, version used: John G. Snaith, (Cambridge University Press, 1974.)

[32] Ibid.

[33] Bruce, p. 840-846.

[34] Schauss, p. 192.

[35] Kypke, Observationes Sacrae in N.T. Libros (1755) Godet, Commentaire sur L'Evangile de Saint Luc (3rd ed.) 1888.

[36] Liddell and Scott, p. 275.

[37] Bruce, p. 532.

[38] Raymond Brown, The Gospel of John (Anchor Bible edition), pp. 461-462; W. R. Farmer, "The Palm Branches in John:12-13," Journal of Theological Studies, New Series 3 (1952), pp. 62-66.

[39] b. Yoma 52b.

[40] Midrash Rabbah on Leviticus (Achare Moth) 21:12, p. 274-275.

[41] See Chapter Three and the discussion of 'Son of God'.

[42] Wuest, p. 177.

[43] Ibid.

[44] J. H. Hertz ed., The Pentateuch and Haftorahs (London, 1973), p. 978.

[45] b. Yoma 18b.

[46] b. Rosh Hashanah 3a.

[47] b. Yoma 18b.

[48] b. Yoma 19b.

[49] Finkelstein, Pharisees, p. 119.

[50] Leviticus 16:12.

[51] Finkelstein, p. 655.

[52] Ibid., pp. 896, 886.

[53] Mark 14:62; Matthew 26:64.

[54] Isaiah 37:6; Ezekiel 20:27.

[55] b. Sanhedrin 56a, 60a.

[56] E. M. Smallwood, "The Date of the Dismissal of Pontius Pilate from Judaea", Journal of Jewish Studies, Vol. 5 (1954), pp. 12-21; A. D. Doyle, "Pilate's Career and the Date of the Crucifixion", Journal of Theological Studies, Vol. 42 (1941), pp. 190-193.

[57] Bruce, p. 228; cf., James 2:21 and Hebrews 7:27, 13:15.

[58] He read in the Court of the Women the following passages: Leviticus 16, 23:27-32, Numbers 29:7-11.

[59] S. Safrai, p. 360, 367.

[60] Schauss, p. 171.

[61] Tom B. Jones, Ancient Civilization (Chicago, 1973), pp. 108-109.

[62] Schauss, p. 173.

[63] Acts 12:21-23.

[64] S. Safrai, p. 189; Josephus, Antiquities 18:312-13.

[65] Schauss, p. 177.

[66] The Herodian Period, pp. 328-329.

[67] Book of Jubilees 16:30.

[68] Finkelstein, p. 646.

[69] b. Biccarim, Chapter 3, Mishnah 3.

[70] Brown, The Gospel of John, p. 457.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Jewish Encyclopedia — s.v. Hoshana Rabba and s.v. Hoshanot. One of the prayers said on Hoshana Rabbah opens with the words "the truth of Thy salvation cometh" from Zechariah 14:4.

[73] Jewish Encyclopedia — s.v. Priests. On the building of bridges over the Kedron Valley to protect the priests from defilement due to the many graves in that area.

[74] b. Yoma 71b.

[75] b. Yoma 70a.

[76] b. Menahoth 85a: The King's garden on the Mount of Olives was considered to be part of the Temple territory as was the pool of Siloam; Tosefta Menahoth X.

[77] S. Safrai, p. 894.

[78] LXX - III Kings 6:17.

[79] Philip Goodman, Sukkah Anthology (Philadelphia, 1952), p. 100.

[80] b. Rosh Hashanah 16a.

[81] Psalm 118:25.

[82] b. Sukkah 45a.

[83] C. F. D. Moule, The Gospel According to Mark (Cambridge, 1965), p. 101-103.

[84] Theodore H. Gaster, Festivals of the Jewish Year (New York, 1974), p. 99.

[85] Norman H. Snaith, The Jewish New Year Festival (London, 1947), pp. 88-94.

[86] Ibid., p. 88.

[87] Ibid., p. 89.

[88] Gaster, p. 99.

[89] Jewish Encyclopedia — s.v. Bridegroom of the Law.

[90] Gaster, p. 100.

[91] Luke 17:2

[92] b. Ta'anith 10b.

[93] Goodman, Sukkah Anthology p. 131.

[94] Mark 2:18.

[95] Goodman, p. 135; Book of Jubilees 16:30.

[96] Gaster, p. 101.

[97] Genesis 48:16.

[98] Barclay, p. 31.

[99] Bultmann, p. 32.

[100] Ibid.

Chapter 7

THE SECOND-FIRST SABBATH AND THE REAPING OF THE OMER

The same kind of analysis which was used to examine Jesus' actions at Sukkah can be duplicated for his actions at Passover. As has been established the course of Abijah/Phabi served from Nisan 7-14 in an intercalated year with Passover beginning on the evening of the 14th (the beginning of the 15th in Judaea). This explains why Jesus was 'teaching' in the Temple for the six days before Passover began. Ordinary pilgrims came up to Jerusalem only a day before the feast. If Jesus was just an itinerant preacher as some argue, his audience would be mostly priests and Jerusalemites during the week before Passover. If he was preaching to the common man in Galilee he would want to reach them in Judaea too. Therefore, he would teach during Passover week, not the week before, so as to reach the most varied audience possible.

The month before the offering of the Passover sacrifice was a busy time. Starting on the 15th of Adar roads and bridges were repaired for the use of the pilgrims. The priests were also very busy because this was the time for burning the Red Heifer (if necessary), administering the test for women suspected of adultery, collecting the Shekel Temple tax, checking the barley fields to see if they would ripen in time for reaping on Nisan 15, and checking to see if the markers where people had been buried had been whitened. The graves had to be whitened before each pilgrim holiday so that those who wished to eat the

Passover in levitical cleanliness, especially priests who had to remain clean in order to serve in God's House, might not unknowingly come in contact with a grave.[1]

It was in connection with one of his priestly duties that Jesus was arrested. The arrest and trial of Jesus have always been controversial topics. Many of these controversies are due to the varying interpretations which have been put upon the material. However, there are many bits of information within this section which can aid the historian in the search for the historical background of these events. For example, from our Gospel sources we know that Jesus was stripped of his clothing, beaten and condemned all without what appears to be formal trial procedure. In all our sources on first century trials there is no record of any similar event taking place before the Sanhedrin or any other Judaean civil court. This also was not the punitive procedure of the Roman occupational forces. But it was the practice of one court within Judaism which has been passed over in nearly all trial commentaries.[2] There was a Court of Priests which was composed of twenty-three priests who were usually the elders of the Father's Houses, which claimed jurisdiction over the Temple and over the whole priestly tribe. This court is well attested in Rabbinic literature, but as would be expected the traditions about the Court's authority in these passages are sometimes very vague.[3] This vagueness is due to several causes: the obsolescence of the institution at the time when the Talmud was compiled, the hostility of the Pharisaic scholars who did the compiling, and the controversies surrounding the Court in its own time.[4] But for our purposes the information is more than sufficient.

The Court of the Priests claimed jurisdiction in cases regarding Temple ritual, the tribe of Levi, genealogical purity of the priestly tribe and proclamation of the New Moon. Ancient commentators stated that the responsibility, and therefore the authority, to enforce Levitical Law in the Temple was entrusted to Aaron so far as his children (the sons of Aaron or the priests) were concerned; to his children so far as the people were concerned and to his children for one another,

> And the Lord said to Aaron, Thou, and thy sons, and thy father's house with thee shall bear the iniquity of the sanctuary and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the iniquity of your priesthood.[5]

The authority of the priesthood therefore came from the Torah itself.

When the Pharisees came to power in the first century B.C. they obviously disturbed the established order of judicial review. It would be difficult for the general Sanhedrin, which included non-priests without access to the Temple, to supervise its ritual. Eventually some of the priestly families became Pharisees themselves and this allowed them to oversee the Temple ritual.[6] The Torah states that, "And thou and thy sons with thee shall keep your priesthood in everything that pertaineth to the altar",[7] and it was this passage which the priests cited in order to keep the non-priestly Pharisees out of Temple concerns. But the priests who became Pharisees found it difficult to accept all of the Pharisaic traditions; for example, those concerned with such things as tithing and the priestly perquisites. Therefore they formed their own faction within the Pharisees and eventually came to be known by the name of one of their leaders — Shammai.

Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, who lived in the years immediately after Jesus, stated that even Elijah when he returned in the last days would not be able to reverse decisions taken by established Courts, even the Court of the Priests.[8] There are traditions which claim that the Court of Priests at one time was recognized as the ultimate Court of Appeal in all religious issues.[9] It also states that the reference in Deuteronomy 1:15 to "officers" associated with the Courts means "the Levites who flog (the guilty) with a strap". Josephus supports this statement that the priests had the job of flogging the guilty.[10] If these assistants to the Judges were Levites we would expect the Judges themselves to be priests and this is supported by the evidence.

Thus on the Temple mount the officers of the Temple had full authority to use their judgement without being subject to judicial inquiry into the circumstances or being forced to provide opportunity for judicial procedure. As was discussed earlier, if a priest or Levite fell asleep on watch the Superintendent of the Temple would take his garments and burn them and then flog the negligent man. For example, the Mishna tells us that a priest who performed the Temple service while in a state of ritual impurity was not brought before the Court by his fellow priests; rather the young priests took him out of the Temple Courts and split his skull with logs. This does not mean, according to Finkelstein, that he was simply seized and lynched, but that he had no recourse to the ordinary courts. He was tried by his fellow priests and executed according to set punishments. Thus, Rabbi Eleazar maintained that even "an impure High Priest who stepped between the altar and the porch is liable to have his skull split with logs".[11] Knowing this we can begin to make sense out of Jesus' condemnation of the Pharisees, "some of whom you will kill...and... scourge...Zechariah Bar Achiah (Ahijah), whom you murdered [for stepping?] between the sanctuary and the altar". (Matthew 23:25, Luke 11:51) Zechariah, one of Jesus' ancestors, must have been killed by the Priests' Court for violating a rule of ritual purity. The existence of such a Court of Priests explains the story of Eleazar ben Zadok who reports that as a child he had seen the execution by burning of a priest's daughter who had committed adultery.[12] The rules of the civil Sanhedrin stated that the punishment for adultery was stoning, not burning. Thus the Priests' Court had the power to quickly try and execute a priest or Levite if he had contravened the rules of the priesthood.

The existence of the Priests' Court presents us with a solution for one of the continuing puzzles of NT scholarship. As a priest Jesus was taken to trial before Annas because as the eldest living ex-High Priest Annas must have been the head of the Priests' Court. Since a new High Priest had not yet been appointed and since Jesus was serving as the closest male relative and successor to John the Baptist, Jesus as the temporary High Priest must have performed a ritual in conflict with the rules of the priesthood. In earlier Chapters we indicated that, as a Shammaite, Jesus held many beliefs in conflict with those of the Hillelites and Sadducees. A clue to Jesus' final split with the Hillelites can be seen in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus where it says that

Jesus was condemned for entering the Holy of Holies in a state of impurity.[13]

It would be advantagious now to look at the events which just preceded the arrest. After Jesus had what is called his 'last supper' with his disciples he held a discussion with them regarding swords. Some scholars have used this information to substantiate theories that Jesus was planning a revolt against the government. However, there is one ceremony which is conducted on the Mount of Olives at evening and requires the use of two or three sickle shaped swords. All the Gospels tell us that the disciples sang a hymn, left the Temple area (came out) and went to the Mount of Olives. Now pilgrims did not spontaneously sing hymns in the Temple. In fact, the only people who sang full hymns in the Temple were the priests and levites. The people were used for one or two line responses since their Hebrew was limited (they used Aramaic or Greek in their everyday lives).[14] Luke tells us that Jesus went to the Mount of Olives' garden "According to the tradition" (*katà tò ěthos*). This does not mean "according to *his* custom" as English translations have led us to believe. He went to the Mount of Olives in accord with the tradition which said that the reaping of the Omer should take place immediately after sunset (the first moment "on the morrow"). This coincides with the procedure on the evening when the Omer was first cut. Just as it was growing dark a large crowd would follow the priests who were assigned to cut the Omer across the winter flow of the Kedron brook to a very small field (garden).[15] The word John uses is *kepos* which can mean garden, plantation, orchard or any fertile region.

They went to the garden to fulfill the commandment regarding the Omer:

> You shall bring a sheaf (the Omer) of the first fruits of your harvest, unto the priest; and he shall wave the Omer before Jehovah, to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the Sabbath the priest shall wave it.[16]

After the offering of this sheaf before God, but not until then, fresh barley could be used and sold in the land. The tradition held that this Passover sheaf was reaped in public the evening before it was to be offered and it was to witness this ceremony that the crowd gathered around the elders of priests.[17] The spot where the first sheaf was to be reaped had been marked out by delegates from the priesthood by tying it together in bundles while they were still standing.

This delegation checked the various fields which were used year after year and which were technically within the precincts of the Temple. Luke preserves a remembrance which indicates that Jesus and his disciples performed this duty:

> Now it happened on the second-first sabbath he passed through the grain fields, and his disciples were plucking off the ears and eating, rubbing them in their hands.(6:1)

One of the keys to this passage is the translation of "second-first sabbath" (deuteroprōtō). In a recent article Buchanan and Wolfe have argued that the word is a late addition by some Christian scribe who preferred to arrange the second paragraph first (Luke 6:1 before Luke 6:6). Luke 6:6 begins "And it came to pass also on the next (of two items, the second) sabbath...". According to the authors' solution this is the reason for the evangelist's use of deuteroprōtō. They close their paper by encouraging their fellow translators to omit "this weird term from their translations [because]... it is not integral to the text, even though it is well attested".[18] They also include a review of previous lexical discussions which they conclude with Lagrange's position, "that there is no satisfactory philological solution to the problem".[19] Though I agree that *deuteroprōtō* is well attested, I disagree with their conclusions that the word is not valuable to our translations. They are not alone; already Aland and Nestle have chosen to place *deuteroprōtō* in the critical apparatus of their translations. Yet the word is being silently excised because it does not fit prevailing assumptions.

The fact is that to omit *deuteroprōtō* from any translation is to miss a crucial piece of information regarding the time of year, the setting, and the subject matter of the logia which follow. There are two keys to the solution of Buchanan and Wolfe's "textual puzzle".[20] One is rooted in the historical reality of the first century Judaea, the other is found in elementary Greek grammar. The later will be discussed first.

When the three words which make up the disputed phrase are broken down *sabbatō*, *deutero*, *prōtō* it can be seen that *deutero* uses the nominative ending while *sabbatō* and *prōtō* use the dative. Elsewhere when the second of something is meant *deuteros* has had its ending changed to coincide with the noun it is modifying. However, in this case our Gospel author has gone to great pains to indicate to us that he means something different. By leaving *deutero* in the nominative he has indicated to us that the passage should be read,

> And it came to pass on the first Sabbath of (in the sense of belonging to) the Second...

It is difficult to conclude that Luke meant otherwise since 'first' and

'Sabbath' have the same ending while 'second' stands alone.

The second key to the solution of the problem is the calendar. Judaeans of the first century A.D. used a lunar-solar year in which months were reckoned by the moon and the year by the sun. The solar year is 365 days, 48 minutes, and 46 seconds, which means that a solar year exceeds a lunar one (12 months) by about eleven days.[22] Thus, in the course of a few years the seasons would be completely disordered. It would be possible that the first month of the year, Nisan (which as a Spring month corresponds with our end of March or beginning of April), would fall in the middle of Winter. As a result, the Jerusalem Sanhedrin appointed a court of three (usually from the Court of the High Priest) to decide on when to intercalate the year.[23] If the court could not reach an unanimous decision, four additional judges would then be selected and a majority vote would suffice. Their vote was usually taken during the twelfth month (Adar) and the additional month was inserted between the end of that Adar and the first (Nisan) month of the following year. The second Adar was referred to as just that, "the Second Adar" or simply "the Second".[24]

There were specific rules which the court had to follow. For example, a Sabbatical year could not be altered, but the year preceding it was always intercalated. Although every third year usually required the addition of a thirteenth month, no more than two years could be successively intercalated. Years were intercalated if two of the following three criteria required it: (1) if the barley was not ripe in time for Passover; (2) if the first fruits would not be ripe in time for Pentecost; and (3) if Passover would fall before the Spring equinox.[25]

As has been shown, in first century Judaea when a year was intercalated, the regular month alone was called Adar while the added month was called Second Adar or simply "the Second".[26] Thus the "textual puzzle" which we are to delete from our texts as "not integral" tells us that Jesus and his disciples were walking through barley fields on the first Sabbath of the Second Adar of an intercalated year.[27] It is known that in the first century A.D. apostles (or messengers) were sent to certain specified fields near Jerusalem to pick samples of barley to determine which crop would be used in making the presentation of the Omer on the 16th of Nisan. Though the Omer was presented in the Temple on the 16th, according to Shammaite tradition it had to be reaped on "the morrow after the Sabbath". The Sabbath, in the week which Jesus died, came on the 14th since the priests had waited to take him until his week of priestly duty was over and they did not want to take him during the feast itself. "The morrow after the Sabbath" would then begin at sunset on the 14th (or the beginning of the 15th) and it was at this time that Jesus went to the Mount of Olives to the garden to perform the required ceremony.

We need to ask why would a group of Pharisees be following Jesus and his disciples on the Sabbath since they were not allowed to travel more than a Sabbath's day journey (a radius of 2,000 cubits) and this only if they were going to fulfill a religious duty.[28] If Jesus and his disciples were taking advantage of the poor man's law which said that the corner of the field should be left for the poor to reap, we must again ask "What were the Pharisees doing there?".

If Jesus and his disciples had been assigned the religious duty of testing the barley to see if it was ripe, then the use of *deuteroprōtō* becomes clearer. Earlier it was noted that a year was intercalated if two of three criteria required it. If in the previous month the barley had been found to be not progressing rapidly enough to be ripe for Passover then the year would have been intercalated and there would have been a Second Adar. Luke tells us that on the first Sabbath of "the Second" Jesus and his disciples are in a barley field testing the corn by rolling it in their fingers. Jesus' answer to the Pharisees' question is crucial in understanding the passage. However, Matthew in his section on this logion clarifies the matter by stating,

> Or have you not read in the law that on the sabbaths the priests in the Temple profane the sabbath and are guiltless? But I say to you that the Temple extends (to) here. (Matthew 12:5-6)

Thus Jesus is including the barley field in Temple property. That this was true of the specified barley fields which were to be used for the Omer is supported by historical evidence. As Edersheim notes, "it was customary to choose for this purpose the sheltered Ashes-valley across Kedron (on the Mount of Olives)".[29]

When the evening of the 14th arrived, even if it were a Sabbath, just as the sun had set and 15th day of Nisan began, three priests, each with a sickle and a basket, began the ceremony. They began by asking the elders of the priests certain questions. Each question was asked three times: "Has the sun gone down?"; "With this sickle?"; "Into this basket?"; "On this Sabbath?"; and lastly "Shall I reap?". If each question was answered positively the three priests then cut the barley which equalled about three pints of grain. These ears were then

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brought to the priest's court in the Temple and threshed with canes or reeds so as to not bruise the corn. It was then 'parched' on a pan perforated with holes so that each grain might be touched by the fire. Finally, it was exposed to the wind and the chaff was blown away.

Thus when Jesus follows '_the_ custom' and goes to the small field (garden) on the Mount of Olives in order to reap the barley he is told that there are two swords and he replies that "It (sic) is enough". Now if Jesus was planning a revolt or suspected an armed attack (and his later statement about the crowd coming against him with swords and clubs indicates that he did not) two swords would never be enough. Jesus probably had a sword himself and this would make up the three required _machairai_. _Machairai_ are short bent swords or daggers. This is exactly what was used to reap the barley. Yadin has uncovered such a sickle in the Bar Kokhba caves. It was made of iron and its inner edge was sharp and slightly saw-toothed.[30]

The seven weeks between Passover and the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost) are called the Days of Counting the Omer. Omer in Hebrew means 'sheaf', and the ritual is commanded in the Torah. The first sheaf of barley to be cut in the Spring was to be cut by a priest and offered in the Temple on the morrow after the Sabbath. Including that day, seven full weeks were to be counted until the presentation of two loaves to God on Shavuot. The problem came as a result of when to begin counting. The biblical verses in Leviticus state that the barley shall be cut for the first time on "the morrow after the Sabbath".[31] Sabbath can mean both the seventh day of the week and the day of a festival itself (which was called a sabbath of holy rest).

In addition, it has been noted that the Sadducees denied that the festival of Shavuot had any historical meaning and that it could not be known what day God gave Moses the Torah. Early in the second century B.C., during the rule of the Maccabean family of Priest-Kings it was accepted that the festival had the historical background which it has today.[32]

Thus the Feast of Shavuot (Weeks) depends on the time of the Omer sacrifice. Since the months of the Jewish calendar were determined by the observation of the New Moon, some months were long (31 days) and some were short (30 days). The Pharisees ignored this variation and got around it by saying that the festival had only to occur "in the season" of the Revelation.[33] But as Finkelstein has shown, the controversy over the time of the cutting of the Omer and therefore of Shavuot was rooted in the 'material interests' of the priests.[34] Since on the festivals all the priests who were present shared in the emoluments of the sacrifices, that family which regularly served on that day saw the number of its benefits reduced. However, the large number of pilgrims offset this loss except at Shavuot because this festival brought pilgrims from the local area only since it was a one day celebration. When Shavuot occurred on a weekday the clan which regularly served on that day lost very little. However, the priestly families who served the preceding week,and those which were scheduled to serve the following week,had to decide whether they wanted to stay the extra days in Jerusalem, which meant that they had to locate food and housing outside of the Temple, or forego the possible benefits of the feast. These problems could be solved by having the feast of Shavuot occur on Sunday.

This arrangement would also help reinforce the Sadducees interpretation of the relevant passages.[35]

Priests who belonged to the lower ranks of the priesthood proposed a compromise. "They agreed that Shabbat meant festival; but the last day of Passover rather than the first".[36] This view is preserved by the Falashas, Jews who live in Ethiopia. Jesus on the other hand, countered with "If you do not keep the Sabbath as a Sabbath you will not see the Father". By postponing the sacrifice of the first sheaf by a week the priests caused very little harm to the upper classes. But the landless urban population of Jerusalem and the other towns of Judaea and Galilee suffered very much. Since the Pharisees were primarily composed of these landless urban, semi-educated middle classes, they were included in those who wanted the barley to be ready as soon as possible. This would especially be the case in an intercalated year such as the year in which Jesus died, for already the date of the reaping of the Omer had been put off by one month. Since the grain of the highlands of Jericho often ripened at the same time as the special field in Jerusalem and often before there was a ready supply for the markets of the cities and towns, it can be seen that the price of bread would rise with the scarcity of grain and soon the urban masses and the middle classes would be paying dearly for their daily bread.[37] Therefore, the Pharisees and Sadducees lined up on opposite sides of the issue.

We have a remembrance in the Gospels regarding the importance of this issue:

Ton arton hemon ton epiousion dos hemin semeron. (Matthew 6:11, Luke 11:2)

Our bread of the morrow give us today.

As can be seen, in many translations attempts have been made to cope with a situation where they did not understand the historical background well enough to correctly interpret Jesus' words. Jerome in his Commentary on Matthew 6:11 states that "In the gospel called according to the Hebrews, for 'substantial bread' I found mahar which means "of the morrow"; so that the sense is: our bread of the morrow...give us this day".[38] It can be seen that Jesus' words have puzzled scholars for a long time. The prayer asks that the 'bread of the morrow' be given to them this day. Thus I propose that Jesus, in keeping with his values, "shortened the days" so that he might "give us (them) this day our (their) bread of the morrow (usually translated as daily bread)". By so doing he sided with the Hillelite Pharisees and angered nearly everyone, as the Gospels indicate. For now the Herodians (Boethusians) joined the Hillelites and the Sadducean priests in being offended by Jesus' proclamations as a Shammaite. At his dinner with his disciples Jesus tells them what he is going to do and tells them that some, Peter included, will be offended by him this night.

Judas, especially, was offended and Jesus knew that he followed a different interpretation as to when to sacrifice the Omer. Judas had now found his evidence against Jesus and leaves to tell the Sadducean priests that Jesus is about to reap the Omer against their tradition. The Talmud preserves an element of this view of the Shammaites which states that when Shavuot occurs on the seventh day and even on the day of preparation (Friday) the offerings of the festival were to be sacrificed on the following Sunday. But if this happened the day was observed as a half-holiday so as to give no credance to those who said that Shavuot is always on Sunday. The Shammaites were priests yet they were not among those who had fixed Sunday as the appropriate day for Shavuot. This must have caused a split in the priesthood and added fuel to the conflicts within its ranks.

Jesus' arrest can now be better understood. All the questions put to Jesus during the last week in Jerusalem are ones which reflect the differences between the various religious-political factions of the priests. Luke, or a later redactor, has slightly altered the sayings: 'Shall we reap' has become "Shall we strike (with this sickle)?', and it is asked by those who came with Jesus who were, appropriately, priests. If Jesus was the leader of an armed revolt, as some would have us believe, why would his adherents speak this way? More than likely they would have asked whether they should attack the crowd who had come with clubs and swords. Why ask such an irrelevant question in a sudden emergency?

It seems more likely, given all the evidence, that what we have here is a remembrance of the ceremony of the reaping of the Omer. More importantly, it is the Temple police and the Council of the High Priests who come to arrest Jesus, not the Roman legionaries who were stationed in Jerusalem in order to maintain order there. If Jesus was being arrested as an ordinary trouble maker or revolutionary he would have been arrested by the Roman guard. But he was arrested by the Temple police who kept the peace on the Temple property and they did not arrest those who made trouble in the city of Jerusalem itself. No, Jesus was

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arrested by the Temple police because he was still on Temple grounds in the garden which was set aside for the reaping of the Omer. As a priest he was subject to the discipline of the Priests' Court for performing the reaping of the Omer ceremony contrary to Sadducean traditions. This also explains why he was taken to the High Priest's Court (not his courtyard), for this was where the Priests' Court met. There the priests tried hard to obtain testimony so that they might sentence Jesus to death. But no two witnesses agreed, and even though fanciful testimony about Jesus' destroying the Temple in three days was brought against him it turned out to be false since two witnesses did not agree on his having said this. Jesus remained silent as was his right when two witnesses contradicted each other. He did not need to defend himself until two agreed. It is important to recall here that it was not blasphemy to call oneself the Messiah (Christ) so that Jesus' blasphemy must have to do with his only other remark — that about the "Clouds of Heaven" (Matthew 26:64; Mark 14:62). Here Jesus was in conflict with the Hillelites Pharisees and Caiaphas. Since the blasphemy could not be proved the Priests' Court was left with the lesser charge and was only able to administer the thirty lashes.

Mark tells us that the High Priest also asked Jesus, "Are you the Christ, the son of the Blessed?" (Mark 14:61) Now if 'Christ' is translated from the Hebrew then it means "the anointed one" and 'Blessed' (Eulogetou) in Hebrew is Barachah. Barachah can be seen as Bar Achiah (Ahijah). Thus the High Priest was probably asking Jesus if he was the "anointed one" (the Chief Priest) of the division of Abijah/Phabi (the sons of (Bar) Ahijah). And Jesus answered "I am".

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER SEVEN

[1] S. Safrai, pp. 207: Edersheim, Temple, pp. 216-217.

[2] E. Stauffer, Jesus — Gestalt and Geschichte (Bern, 1957) English translation: Jesus and His Story (New York, 1960).

[3] Finkelstein, p. 725.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Numbers 18:1.

[6] For example see Josephus' remarks on his being a Pharisee in his Life:12.

[7] Numbers 18:7.

[8] b. Eduyyoth, Chapter 8; Mishnah 3.

[9] Sifre Deuteronomy 351, p. 408.

[10] Sifre Deuteronomy 15, p. 25.

[11] cf., b. Sanhedrin 81b.

[12] b. Sanhedrin 50a, 52a

[13] Bernard Grenfell, Oxyrhynchus Papyri (London, 1898-1959), Part V, 1908 (840).

[14] S. Safrai, pp. 1033-1037.

[15] Edersheim, Temple, p. 258; S. Safrai, p. 892 Beth Makleh beside the Kedron.

[16] Leviticus 23:10-11.

[17] b. Menahoth 64a see note 3 page 377.

[18] G. W. Buchanan and C. Wolfe, "The 'Second-First Sabbath' (Luke 6:1)", Journal of Biblical Literature, 97 (1978), p. 262.

[19] Ibid., p. 259.

[20] Ibid.

[21] If Luke had wanted to say "the second Sabbath after the first" he would have most likely used something like LXX Exodus 40:17 èn tō̄ mēnì tō̆ prṓtō tō̧ deutérō̧ e̋tei; see LXX Genesis 1:8 heméra deutéra; Revelation 2:11 èk toū̃ thanátou toū̃ deutérou.

[22] Jewish Encyclopedia - s.v. Calendar.

[23] b. "Eduyyoth Chapter 7, Mishnah 7: b. Sanhedrin 11a.

[24] Megilla 7a "it was necessary for the test to write 'the Second' ..."; b. Sanhedrin 12a The Hebrew text has 'the Second' at note 13 in the Soncino; cf., b. Sanhedrin 87a, note 8 in Soncino edition (called 'the Second' Adar).

[25] S. Safrai, p. 853.

[26] b. Sanhedrin 11a-13b.

[27] Buchanan and Wolfe, p. 262.

[28] Edersheim, p. 177.

[29] Ibid., p. 258; S. Safrai, p. 892.

[30] Yigael Yadin, Bar-Kokhba (New York, 1971), p. 151.

[31] Leviticus 23:10-11.

[32] Schauss, pp. 87-88.

[33] Ibid.; Finkelstein, p. 651.

[34] Finkelstein, p. 643.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Finkelstein, p. 647.

[37] Ibid., pp. 647-648.

[38] Jerome, Homily 47 on Psalm 135 (136).

EPILOGUE

In the introductory Chapter to this study the reader was asked to keep an open mind and to apply the ordinary rules of history and literature to the work presented. Now that you have read through the study it is hoped that it has been shown how useful the theory about Jesus as a priest can be. By knowing that Jesus was a Chief Priest (*e̓pistátēs*) we can discover the original circumstances of Jesus' life and this will allow scholars to examine the historical Jesus without having to peer at Stage One through the web of Stage Two.

With the discovery of Jesus' priestly origins we have begun a new stage in the search for the historical Jesus. An example cited in this work demonstrates this very clearly. A well respected NT scholar has urged translators to eliminate a word, *deuteroprōtō*, from our translations on the grounds that it is a "weird term [and] not integral to the text, even though it is well-attested".[1] This study has shown that *deuteroprōtō* is very integral to the text for it tells us that Jesus was testing barley fields on the first Sabbath of the Second Adar in an intercalated year.

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[1] George Wesley Buchanan and Charles Wolfe, "The 'Second-First Sabbath' (Luke 6:1)", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 97, No. 2 (June 1978), p. 262.

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APPENDIX A

Onomastics

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Onomastics

I. Generally there are two forms of proper names in Hebrew:

- (1) propositional
  - (a) verbal
  - (b) nominal sentences
- (2) epithetic

II. Another distinction which relates to content is that between theophoric and secular proper names.

III. The predicate of the theophoric verbal propositional name is generally in the perfect or imperfect tense. Unlike Akkadian, Hebrew does not use the imperative mood for names.

IV. In the perfect-tense names the 'predicate-subject' type (Nethan e el) is more frequent than the inverse 'subject-predicate' type (El nathan). The meaning of these names is expressed by the use of the past tense.

V. In names formed with the imperfect tense the 'subject-predicate' type appears only in the later monarchical and post-exilic periods.

VI. The imperfect tense is both preterit and jussive, and its meaning in proper names is disputed. These names can either be a statement or a wish.

VII. The content of theophoric propositional names is that the divinity (1) has given, created/made, or added the child (2) has granted, helped, saved, and had mercy, spared, restored justice, cured. Whereas in Akkadian (1) and (2) refer to the child, Hebrew only does so in (1), (2) refers to the parents. Hebrew has propositional names with suffix: Nethan-el, Nethan-iah (God/YHWH has given), Ishmael, Shemaiah (God/YHWH has granted).

VIII. In theophoric nominal propositional names those which contain a participle are scarce and of rather late origin. More common are the so-called 'names of reliance' consisting of a theophoric element and an appellative such as Elijah (YHWH is my God), Jo ab, Jo ah, Jo el, Jo ezar (God/YHWH is father, brother, God help). The suffix of the first person plural occurs only in the cry for salvation.

IX. Theophoric epithetic names are not particularly common in Hebrew. This is related to the absence of a son/daughter of YHWH which is common in Akkadian and Egyptian. The most popular names are those constructed with 'eved = slave (Abdiel — God's slave).

X. The tetragrammaton is always used in abridged form: yeho, yo at the beginning, yahu, yah at the end. Joshua was the first name we see in the OT that was definitely constructed with the tetragrammaton. Moses' mother, Jochebed is more ancient, but some scholars doubt its authenticity. Judah does not contain the divine name.

XI. Terms of kinship come to take the place of the theophoric element. Terms like: 'av (father), 'ah (brother), 'am (paternal uncle) have their origin in early Semitic and nomadic conceptions of tribal and clan structure. Deceased relatives enjoyed the divine privilege of being worshiped. This belief ceased in Israel after the early prophets.

XII. Secular epithetic names — Haggai (he who was born on the festival), Jedidiah (the beloved one), Samson (little son).

XIII. Women's names — theophoric ones are relatively scarce. Secular ones are frequent.

Names were important to Jews of the first century A.D. as this quote indicates: "One should ever examine names to give his son a name worthy for him to become a righteous man, for sometimes the name is a contributory factor for good as for evil". (Ta'anith)

APPENDIX B

The Genealogies of Jesus as Listed in Matthew and Luke

The Genealogies of Jesus as Listed in Matthew and Luke

Luke 3:23-24	Matthew 1:1-17
Zerubabel Rhesa	Zerubabel
Joanan (Jonathan)	
Joda (Judah)	
Josech (Joseph)	
Semein (Simon)	
Mattathias	
Maath	
Naggai	
Esli (Elias)	
Nahum (Nathan)	Abiud (Abijahud)
Amos	Eliakim
Mattathias	Azor
Joseph	Zadok
Jannai (Jonathan)	Achim (Joachim)
Matthat (Mattathias) Levi-Melchi	Eliud
H'Eli (Elisha)	Matthan (Mattathias)
Joseph	Jacob (James)
	Joseph

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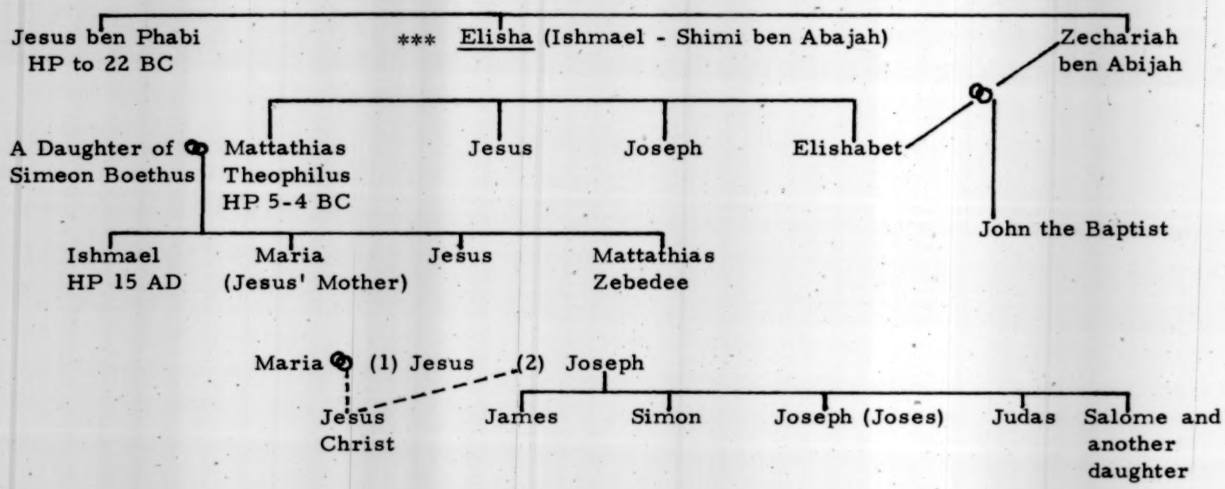
APPENDIX C

Jesus' Family Tree

The Family of Elisha ben Abijah/Phabi of the Priestly Clan of Jedidiah/Theophilus (a Zadokite)



*** Jesus ben Phabi, Elisha ben Abajah, and Zechariah ben Abijah are brothers

* Please note that Appendix C is only a tentative statement. More research needs to be done in order to determine the exact familial relationships. This Family Tree is presented as an aid in tracing the interrelationships of the people who are discussed in this study.

APPENDIX D

A Chronology of Some of the Events of Jesus' Life

A Chronology of Some of the Events of Jesus' Life

Please note that this Chronology is only a tentative statement. More research needs to be done in order to determine the exact sequence of the events of Jesus' life. This Chronology is presented as an aid in placing the events mentioned in this study.

John's baptism of Jesus
John's imprisonment
Jesus goes to serve in the Temple as the head of the course of Abijah/Phabi at Yom Kippur and when the High Priest becomes ritually ineligible Jesus substitutes as High Priest.
Jesus cleanses the Temple
The Disciples are told to stay awake and watch on Yom Kippur eve
The Transfiguration and the Clouds of Glory

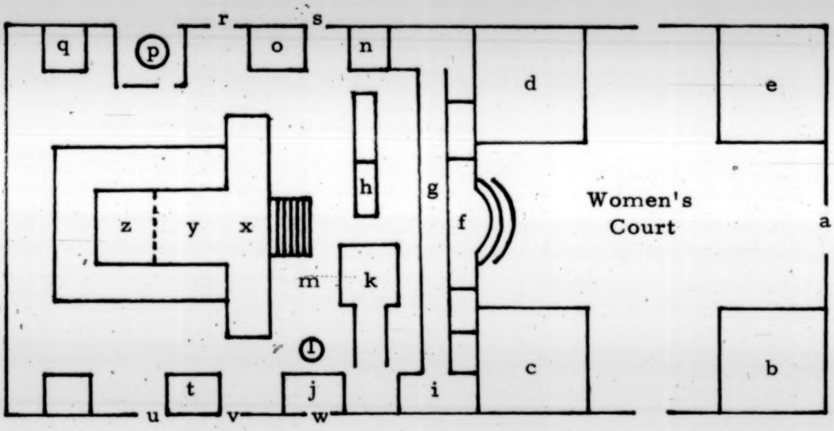
Jesus' regular service at Sukkah
The procession into Jerusalem (The Entry)
The man with the water pitcher
The Feeding of the 4,000 with the seven loaves
Hosha'na Rabbah (The seventh day of Sukkah)
Jesus blesses the children
The Feeding of the 5,000 with the five loaves

The Second-First Sabbath (The first Sabbath of Second Adar)
The Last Supper
The swords and the Mount of Olives
The reaping of the Omer and Jesus' arrest

APPENDIX E

A Diagram of the Second Temple in Jerusalem

THE SECOND TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM



a. The Beautiful Gate
b. The Chamber of the Nazirites
c. The Chamber of Oils
d. The Chamber of the Lepers
e. The Chamber of Wood
f. Nicanor's Gate - Called the Corinthian Gate in Josephus
g. Court of the Israelites - also called Azarah
h. The Slaughter House
i. The Chamber of the Hewn Stone - the Sanhedrin met here
j. The House of H'Abta - This is where the High Priest stayed during Yom Kippur
k. The Altar and ramp
l. The Laver
m. The Priests' Court
n. The Chamber of the Hearth
o. The Parwah Chamber
p. The Rinsing Chamber - This is where the priests bathed their entire bodies
q. The Salt Chamber
r. The Offering Gate
s. The Gate of the Flame - The priests slept in the chamber off this Gate

t. The Golah Chamber
u. The Kindling Gate
v. The Gate of the First Born
w. The Water Gate - The water conduit ran right up to the outside of the Gate
x. The Porch - also called the ulam
y. The Inner Sanctuary - also called the hekkal
z. The Holy of Holies - also called the devir

There were fifteen steps before Nicanor's Gate. The Gate had two small wicket doors set within the larger door. The southern one was closed up and the northern one served as a passageway for the priests in the early hours of the morning as they prepared the Temple for the daily services. The wicket was shut by a bolt which locked in the floor.

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